Diary of Julia Wilbur, 1862

Originals at Haverford College, Quaker and Special Collections Transcriptions by volunteers at Alexandria Archaeology

The transcribed pages that follow are from the diaries kept by Julia Wilbur, an abolitionist from Rochester, New York, who lived in Alexandria, Virginia, from October 1862 to February 1865. She moved to Washington, DC, where she lived until her death in 1895.

This file contains entries from 1862.

The diaries are in the form of packets of paper that she assembled and dated as she went along, approximately 4 by 7 inches. The diaries go from 1844 to 1873. (She also kept journals, which were smaller, pre-printed, leather-bound booklets, one per year through 1895.)

In a cooperative effort between Haverford and Alexandria Archaeology, pages of the diaries were scanned in Summer 2013 (March 7, 1860, through the early 1870s). Alexandria Archeology volunteers transcribed from March 7, 1860, through July 3, 1866.

Acknowledgments

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Key

Each diary page is one scanned file and was transcribed in Microsoft Word. In order to avoid having more than one thousand individual Word files, they are compiled as follows:

- A PDF of the entire period
- Seven PDFs by year (1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, and 1866)

For those wishing to consult the originals, the ID numbers given to different sections by Haverford are footnoted in regular intervals throughout the documents.

Some common things that readers will encounter:

- Dates are centered. Note that Wilbur did not consistently date the entries (i.e., month, date, year) and we have recorded them as she did (e.g., Sunday the 19th)
- Many different types of dashes, underlines, and hyphens were used to indicate breaks in thought. For consistency, we have used an em-dash (—) throughout.
- Where she crossed something out or underlined it, we did, too. Spellings as written (e.g., "staid" for "stayed")
- &c. means "etc." It was commonly used convention of the time, even appearing in newspaper headlines. "And" is usually represented by an ampersand (&).
- Where multiple transcribers/proofreaders were not able to decipher all or part of a word, we have indicated with [?]. Where Wilbur left a blank space or some other unusual thing, we have inserted an italicized *Transcriber's note*.

If you use these files and encounter an error, please let us know so we can correct it in the next iteration.

Wilbur also kept parallel, smaller pocket diaries, the originals of which are at Haverford as well. They were separately transcribed, compiled, and annotated by Paula Whitacre for Alexandria Archeology in 2011-2012, using microfilmed versions in the Local History Collection at the Alexandria Public Library.

¹Rush, January 1st, 1862! Wednesday evening.

This date finds me at my father's house, which is nominally my house. 'Tis all the home I have & I cannot help feeling that probably it will be my home but little longer. Such an unhappy state of things has existed here so long, that I think a change of some kind will take place in the spring, or before, perhaps, Whatever it is it will affect my situation very materially, without any doubt.

While I am in the world I must have the means of living, I must have a place to lay my head. If I was well & strong I should not be concerned about my future support. As it is the prospect ahead is very dubious. Last week I felt pretty well. This week the aches & pains have come again & make me feel that I am nearly good for nothing.

A letter from Rev. L.C.L. has been

received in reply to mine, which he says he will lay before Missionary Association & old Point, VA. may yet be my destination. I feel irresistibly drawn in that direction, & if I am to have no home here, I may as well be there as any where. If I could make such a disposition of my goods & chattels as I wd. like, my way would seem much clearer. But Mary & Frances are so far away, I cannot well put my things in their care, I have no sister here, or near me to look after what I have. Nobody here wd. feel any particular interest in preserving them, & I dread to see them scattered. Some of them belonged to sister S. & they are precious to me for that reason. The spot designed for the last resting place of our family, & where some of our loved ones sleep is near here & I wish my remains to rest with theirs. My father is old & infirm & I would chose to be near him while he lives; & , if I once leave here I feel that it will never by my home again,

Yet necessity I think will soon drive me forth to seek shelter & support elsewhere. In fact the upshot of the business is, I really dont know what is to become of me. I cannot teach as I once did. I cannot get a living by sewing. There are occupations if I only had acces to them by which I might live. but hundreds of needy ones stand ready to jump at every chance for employment. I can do light housework but that pays poorly, or not at all for it is heavy work a kitchen girl is expected to do I am willing to work & earn my living & if I was only well & strong I would undertake almost anything. I begin to think it will not do to wait some for anything to turn up, but I must turn up something myself, It is well perhaps, that I dont know when another N. Year will find me. I may be better, I may be worse, I may be where I little dream of being now. Well, well, I will try not to anticipate trouble, no

1862 Transcribed Diary of Julia Wilbur (May 2015)

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¹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26052_064 to HC13-26052_120 in their Folder entitled Sept. 20, 1861 to Apr. 13th 1862.

doubt it will come soon enough. To every body I wish a happy New Year. There have been some bright spots in the past year even to me. Sister Mary & her little Minnie were with me about 3 months & the remembrance of this visit is very pleasant. Sister Elma has so nearly recovered her health again that she has made us a visit. The six weeks I spent in Michigan Co. are among the pleasant things of the past year.

But then in common with others I have experienced so much anxiety & excitement. The extraordinary state of public affairs has been an absorbing subject. Another twelve months will tell tremendously for our government, either for well or worse.

The topic of today is the surrender of Mason & Slidell to the English government. This will probably avert a war with England, at least for the present. The rebels will be jubilant no doubt but who cares? We shall be gainers by it in the end.

Hon. A. Ely has been released from the Richmond prison & has returned—No decisive battle yet. Terrible day for an encampment. The morning was bright, about noon a regular tempest commenced. We have had nothing so severe in a long time. This evening I saw a bright light in the direction of Rochester. A fire is probably raging there, the wind is blowing a gale.

I have written a little & sewed some & read the news. Father & Mother have been to Avon. Henry & Ann are away this evening. Letter from Alfred. He talks hard about the Abolitionists; thinks they ought to be imprisoned; they make all the trouble. talks of "our Southern brethren", &c. This is in reply to a letter I sent him wh. was enclosed in an envelope with an anti Slavery petition to Congress on one side if it. He says such a thing should not be allowed to go through the mails.—He wants the Union restored as it was before the war &c. &c.

He takes a very gloomy view of things, I am really sorry for him, for I think if he was better informed, he wd. think differently. There is no more satisfaction in corresponding with him. I think he is a thorough pro-slavery negro hater, & I am his antipodes. Ah! well, I hope he will feel better some time, for he is a well meaning person.

Thus opens the year 1862. Thursday evening Jan 2^d. 1862.

Very cold today but bright, wind abated. Irish Margaret came from city this morning. She says the fire was in Buffalo St. Now we have the discomforts of a kitchen girl again. For 10 days we have been relieved of that personage, & it seemed so nice. I have sewed all day, & read some this evening & my eyes feel badly in consequence. I wish somebody wd. come that I wd. like to see. It is really lonely here, but I am bent on getting some work done, so the time passes quickly.

Spring will soon come around again.

Rush. Jan 6th 1862. Monday

Trying to snow for several days, but not enough for sleighing yet. Have worked a little today. Father has gone to W. Rush to pay taxes. Yesterday he went to church although it was the coldest day we have had, Mercury at zero. I wrote to Mary & Rev. Wm. H.C. & cracked nuts, & wished for Mary & Minnie, & read some.

Government affairs look dubious. The Treasury is in trouble. The expense of the army is $1\frac{1}{2}$ million a day. Half a million of men in the field & yet we are not strong enough to advance on the rebels. These are symptoms of impatience on the part of the people. They think this <u>masterly inactivity</u> has been tried long enough. Unless something is done soon to retrieve the aspect of affairs, England & France will probably break the Blockade & open the Cotton ports. The feeling towards Eng. is very bitter & no doubt she will have occasion for war if she wants war

Jan 12th. Sunday Evening

Rainy day. all been at home. I have written to Angeline & Frances. The week has passed quickly, although it has been dull & drizzly most of the time. I have sewed most of the time, read some. Wednesday I went to Avon & called at Mr. H's. Thursday Cousin Cyrus was married to Julia W. Hall & a card was sent to our family.

Yesterday I went up to H.B's. I enjoyed the walk out in the snowstorm. I think I like to walk out in a storm, somehow it is grateful to my feelings. The dull gray sky & the fast falling snow & the silent woods all spoke to me of the weary sorrowful past & the dark uncertain future. A great sorrow had closed in around me & shut out all the pleasant prospect. I was going to hear some tidings of Freda. It was 106 weeks since she was taken from us. yes, more than two years. since R. took her from my love & care. & her recollection of me now is probably dim & shadowy.

I had heard that R. was at H's the day before. He said that Freda was well & she does not go to school; this winter. But not a word did he ask about any of us.

Have had letters from Sis & Ester & Frances & from New York. Shall not go to Fortress Monroe at present.

Sunday Jan. 19.

A stormy week has passed away. There is new snow enough for sleighing I think it is a foot deep. I have done various things. I have done up muslins &c., made a new hood which I think is quite pretty. I have written letters & also a story for Minnie wh. is ready to send her. I have knit some & read the papers,

I have not been out of the gate & nobody has been here. Henry & Ann ride out nearly every day.—Letters from Uncle C. & sister Mary. Mary & her little ones are well.

Sec. Cameron has resigned his

office. It produces quite a sensation! It seems he does not agree with the policy of the President & his Cabinet. So it is all the while. If an officer shows that he really means to

put down the rebellion, & says he is in favor of using the slaves to help us, just so soon he is removed or superseded. This may not be the reason but I think it is.

The Burnside Expedition has sailed & we shall soon hear from it I suppose. The flotilla is also ready to go down the Mississippi. I think this week will bring us important news.

Rush. Sunday Jan. 26th

A federal victory over the rebels in Ky. & Gen. Zollicoffer is dead, is all the important news. We are waiting to hear of some great exploit. But I think with the Tribune that they seem to be afraid they will obtain decisive victory over the rebels. & they do not intend to subdue them, only thrash them enough to

make them willing to compromise. Our officers are not secessionists, they are Union men, that is if Slavery can be saved by saving the Union. That no harm shall befall Slavery is of more importance to the administration than anything else. A Tribune Cor. says "That the nomination of Mr. Stanton for Sec. of War is felt to be a solemn condemnation by the Administration & regular Army, of the policy of Emancipation & arming the slaves of rebels, so strongly recommended by Mr. Cameron. They saw in it an open issue with the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North & West." Then again it is said "that the only Senator who enjoys intimate relations with Mr. Stanton is Mr. Sumner, & he moved his unanimous Confirmation the day his name reached the Capitol. The relations between him & Mr. Chase are equally intimate, & he is acceptable to Fessenden, Wade, &c. That those who flatter themselves that the Border States, or the Rebels, or the cause of Slavery has gained an

ally, will be charmingly disappointed. He believes Slavery to be the most vulnerable point in wh. to strike the rebellion &c." Well, we shall see. I hope this is not said to pacify the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North & West, but that it is really true. This week's Democrat notices at length & commends a speech of Chas. Sumner on neutral rights. It says The speech glows with historical beauty; its tone is manly & independent, & its moral sentiment as loftily humane & Catholic as ever was heard in the halls of legislation." yet it thinks "the speech is open to criticism for its construction of international law &c." Heretofore Sumner's ablest speeches have received no notice whatever at the hands of the Democrat. The world moves. If it will only keep moving!

Last Sunday I rode in the little cutter to the P.O. & called at Uncle. J's. he is quite sick. Garrison has given a fine lecture in N.Y. Thursday Henry went to city with poultry

Cloudy for a week until Friday wh. was the most glorious winter's day that I ever remember. Cold, but not too much so for comfort. Bright as possible. Sleighing fine as could be. Snow not drifted at all. At noon I went to Uncle E's alone in the little blue

sleigh & drove little gray—And there was the most glorious sunset that I ever saw. All the primary colors have blended so beautifully, & the white surface of the earth seemed to heighten the prismatic colors; it was indeed gorgeous. How my darling Freda would have enjoyed this ride, & particularly this sunset. Had a good visit. Cyrus has been to Washington, & he had many interesting things to relate. Yesterday stormy again, morn snow & last night & today the wind blows & the snow is drifting. It is bright today, but cold. Harry and Ann have gone away. No weather keeps them when they wish to go.

Yesterday it was 108 wks. since my little darling was taken from me. If she was with me now how pleasant it might be here. I fear she will be sick this winter. The Measles, & Mumps & Diptheria prevail very generally, and she has had none of these diseases. But if she is sick I may not hear of it all.

I wish I could see some of my friends. When H. came from city it seemed hard that I could make no inquiries about C. or the children, when I want to see then so much. I have sewed most of the time & have nearly finished a silk morning dress. I have read the papers, & thus another week has gone. To day I am writing & reading & enjoy it very much. Have no wish to go out.

But all this must come to an end, it can last for a short time only. I cannot live precisely as I am now living much longer. Something will turn up I think to vary this monotony.

Jan. 29th.1862

Thawing fast—Sleighing is going.

Yesterday went to City with R. Clark & wife. Got home after 9 P.M. with sick head ache, & do not feel well to day, head aches yet. It was a hard day's work, but as it was likely to be all the opportunity I sh. have I imposed[?] it. Henry will not allow me to go with him, & I can send for nothing by him. I am ashamed of my brother. I feel that he injures himself more than he does me. May God forgive him as freely as I do, for I think he knows not what he does.

C. & Miss Baldwin had just got back from LeRoy & Avon by way of Batavia. Harry gone to L. on Saturday. The railroads have all been blocked up with snow, & the Valley road is impassible on account of a wreck on the track. no lives lost, but the trains did not run for a day or two. No mails from N.Y. for 2 or three days past. The storm has been very general & now there will probably be a freshet if it thaws.

There have been rains at the South, & floods in the west & snows at the north, & fires in N.Y. & Boston &c. No very particular war news. Expecting any day to hear from Burnsides Expedition. The proslavery part of the press & community are more hateful than ever. The Herald is awful & the R. Union is as bad as it dares be. The Hutchinson's who had Liberty from the Sec. of War to sing in the Federal Camps, have been forbidden to come within the lines by Gen. McClellan. Proslavery speeches are made in Congress as

usual, & there are also antislavery speeches too & there will be fierce discussions I think before Congress adjourns. Things look discouraging just now.

Bought black satin for dress. wh. was about all the purchase I made. Saw Sis & Ned a little while. Sis does not like her school now, & I presume it will be of but little advantage to her. Mr. G. & C. say business is very dull.

Rush. Feb. 2^d. Sunday, 1862

Fine day but cold. Have had several pleasant days. I have just written to Wm. Penn & must now write to my old friend in Ann Arbor Mrs. Carpenter.

Thursdy I rode over to Uncle J's & got the papers.—I have been sewing on my black dress for two or three days. Yesterday I went to Mr. Winans & spent most of the day. Julia has been confined to her room 9 wks. She is lame and very ill from the effects of a spider bite last summer. Had a satisfactory visit & a pleasant ride, only I was alone. Called at Mr. Hartwell's.—No letters today. The Burnside Expedition has suffered severely from the storm. It is now in Pamlico Sound. I suppose the rebels think now that winds & waves are on their side. One valuable vessel was lost by the treachery of a pilot it is thought.—War feeling abating in England.—

Feb. 9th Sunday

Cold and blustery.—

I have cleaned up and written some. The Sundays are very short I think, I have sewed all the week. Finished my black satin dress & did various other jobs. —Letters from Angeline, & Joe Van B. & Ella. Ella is pretty well for her, but her letter brought me no other comfort.

A. says Alfred feels badly yet about the war. Almond Van W. is sick in Washington & his father has gone to him. George Van W. has come home sick.—Joe Van B. thinks that McClellan is all right, & that people are finding fault with him unnecessarily. says the roads are so bad that the army can't move at all. He had just been to Washington & has some photographs agoing & is to send me one.—No particular war news, only people are manifesting impatience & dissatisfaction at the way things are going.—McClellan is growing unpopular, & our troubles accumulate.

Rush. Monday Feb. 10th, 1862

Fine. Washed & sewed some.

About 2 P.M. Mr. Newman came to tell us that Julia Winans died yesterday at 5 P.M. & is to be buried to-morrow at 11. It seems her disease went to her head at last. When I was there 9 days ago she was suffering from pain in the head, & she never found any relief, but was delirious much of the time. Dr. N. said she would get better until the P.M. she died. I have not a particle of confidence in Dr. N. I think he is very ignorant, & have

thought so from the first moment I saw him when he came here to see Sarah. If Julia had given attention to herself at the first, no doubt she cd. have been cured. But the poison was permitted to work until it affected her whole system, & then no skill perhaps cd. have saved her. Dr. N. called it hip disease. Dr. Moore said it was very far from that. Dr. N. said the bite of the

spider had nothing to do with it. Dr. M said it was enough to cause her sickness. The family think that the poisonous bite caused her death. They had a chance to watch the progress of disease & know how she was affected. I think so too.

Poor girl, cut off from her life in the flower of her youth. She was not quite 24, she was not afraid to die, but bid them all goodbye calmly[?] & died without a struggle, as if she was falling asleep. She <u>rests well now</u>, no doubt. She was a namesake of mine, and she was a very excellent girl.

Tuesday, Feb. 11th

I rode with Mr. N. yesterday to E. Avon, and from there to Mr. Winans with E. Morehouse, & to day mother came to the funeral & I came home with her. This is the first break in the family of Mr. W. & there are 10 brothers and sisters to mourn her loss. But in their sorrow there is much comfort & hope, much that is pleasant

to think of. As she lay on her death couch she looked as if sleeping, & there was nothing there of the gloom & repulsiveness of death. It was a lovely corpse to commit to the Earth and cover with the cold snows of winter. They have chosen a lot near ours in a very pleasant spot. Now they have an interest in that graveyard such as they never had before. My dear friend, Mrs. W. is a noble woman, & bears this trial with much resignation. Many of their relatives are with them today, & there was a large funeral. Saw my old friend Mrs. Root, the grandmother of Julia, for the first time since Mr. Root's death last spring.

I had intended to go soon & stay 2 or 3 days with Julia. I had no idea she wd. pass away so soon. I had not heard from her in a week, & the news of her death surprised me. I thought she would get well slowly. But I did not think she was to die so soon. Well, she is safe now from harm & temptation.

Wednesday Feb. 12th,

Do not feel like work. My head has ached yesterday & today & my eyes ache. I feel sad & oppressed and lonely.—

Henry went to city, but has not said a word about C. & the children.—Saturday, Feb. 15th,

Today is quite pleasant. Father & Mother have gone to Avon & I hope to have some papers. We have had no news in several days. I have been sewing for several days & I feel very dull & stupid. Nobody comes here.

111 wks. since Freda was taken from us. Towards night we were very glad to see Theodore Van Wagoner & Neddy come. It seems so good to have them here, to see some of our relation once more.

Sunday Feb. 16th,

Father & Mother been to meeting. Neddy has been sick all day. This P.M. went with [F?] to Uncle Jeptha's & Uncle Ephraim's. Fine

day & sleighing good. I saw Cyrus's new wife for the first time. Hear that the rebels are surrounded in Fort Donelson & the fort will probably be taken.—

Monday 17th.

Cold morning. Neddy sick yet, but he & Theodore started for Rochester about 9. Have had a good visit with T., but N. has not enjoyed his visit.

About 11 Charlotte & Miss Baldwin came & left about 4 P.M. Glad to see them; but I have been very much distracted & annoyed. Something to trouble us all the while. If it is not one thing it is another. I hope father's life will not be worried out of him. Towards night the Avon bells rang forth a joyous peal. Fort Donelson is taken with great loss on both sides; so, many hearts will be filled with sorrow. Johnson & Buckner & 15000 prisoners & a great deal of property has been taken. Floyd & Pillow escaped with 5000 troops.

Wednesday 19th.

Have spent most of the day at Mr. Winans, & had a pleasant visit. Oh! how they miss Julia. I think I can realize how Mr. W. feels.—I returned in a storm of snow & wind. Letter from Ella. All well.

Thursday 20th.

Letters from Aunt Mary and Mary Julia & Wm. Penn. Aunt M. has been sick. Cousin Delilah Mosher died the 4th of this month.—Neddy has measles and is quite sick, at first they thought it small pox & were very much frightened.

Wm. Penn and his family are well, he is all alive about the war;—He sent me a piece of Gen. Zollicoffer's undershirt dyed in his own blood. He was killed at the battle of Somerset in Ky, on the 18th or 19 Jan. The possession of it made me nervous for awhile. it is a singular & interesting memento of the Rebellion. Wm. P. hopes to send a piece of Beauregard's coat next time.

Friday 21st.

Have sewed all day & my eyes ache. Cousin Emmaline has visited here. Henry & Ann have started for Kendall.

Encouraging news from Missouri & Tenn, But I do not think the Rebels will give up yet. I hope not at least, for there would be danger of some disgraceful settlement on our part if they should do so.

Saturday 22^d.

Went to Avon, and called at Uncle Jeptha's. Clarksville & Nashville are taken. Letter from Rev. W.H.C. gives me interesting information in relation to the plans for improving the situation of the "Freedmen & Freedwomen" at Port Royal, I am hoping to go there, but fear I shall not succeed in so doing.—

This evening wrote to Rev. M. French, N.Y. Read Julian's speech in the House of Rep. one of the best that has been made on the subject of emancipation.

Sunday. 23^d.

Thawing. Father & Mother have been to meeting. I have done various things. Wrote three letters before breakfast, & have written three since. I fear the sleighing is going off.

Thursday 27th. Feb.

Cold & blustering. I have not done much. I have told father of my plans. He thinks it is a wild calculation, & says he has a good mind not to help me one bit. I presume I shall have hard work to get away.—

Monday was the most tempestuous day of the season. The snow drifted & it was cold. My going to Port Royal looked dubious then.

Tuesday—Old Mr. C. worked in the snow most all day. The road has been shoveled & a team has been driven through. It was 103 wks. since I have seen my darling Freda. almost two years! Oh! that I could hear from her again, & know just how she is.

Wednesdy. stormy, but I went to P.O. & got five letters, one from Joe Van B. enclosing his photograph & Col. Poe's—Just heard from Mary. she was well. Letters from Prof. Dewey & Mr. Angle & Mr. Hobbie, all kind and precisely what I want, but better than I expected, & perhaps better than I deserve.

About 11 Aunt Eliza came. It seemed nice to have her make us a visit once more. I told her of my plans and she does not discourage me. Cyrus did not come for her as she expected, so she staid all night.—He came for her this morning. —No particular war news.—

Saturday evening, March 1st.

Stormy yesterday & today, roads drifted again. Cannot go to P.O. Looks discouraging for me. Henry & Ann do not come yet.

Have done various chores and read some. Wrote to Mary yesterday.—

It is <u>113 wks.</u> since my little darling was taken from me. Yes, more than two long years. I suppose she seldom thinks of us now. She is nearly six years old. Oh that I could see her! Sunday, March 2^d. 1862.

Spring opens with a heavy body of snow on the ground. If it sh. go off suddenly there wd. be a great freshet.

This morning father talked with me about going away. He does not forbid my going, but does not advise me to go. "He thinks it a presumptuous undertaking, that my health and strength are not sufficient for it.

If H. & A. go away, & I leave too, there will be nobody to look after things nor keep the house, when father & mother want to go visiting or to meeting, & mother will have all the work to see too &c." I tell him Ann does not look after anything when she is here; & mother will take charge of the work whether I go or stay, & what they can't do, they can leave till I come back. I intend to be gone but three months, that time will soon pass away.

Rush. March 3^d. 1862.

Rainy P.M. & evening. Washed & did various chores. About 1 P.M. went to Avon expecting to go to city tomorrow, to make preparations for leaving home. Letter from Mr. S.W.S. and Frances but none from N.Y. & I feel disappointed. Went to Mr. Hartwell's to stay all night. With Alvira called at R. Chapel's, who returned last Saturday from a visit to Abner's. Frances thinks my undertaking a venturesome one, but tells me to go if it is my duty & God will protect me. Ella is pretty well.—F. is tried and sorely vexed with many things about her. I wish she could live more to her mind.

Tuesday March 4th.

Weather changed in night & it snowed & blew terribly, & it was so bad this morning that I thought it not best to start for city. Wrote to Frances, This P.M. Alvira & I went to P.O. Letters from Cousin C. Post & Rev. M. French. He says they could not get me there in time to be examined to sail with them. They have a goodly number

of Teachers, & hope to need many more. I infer that they have as many as they can afford to send at present, & probably no more will go this spring. I am somewhat disappointed, but I feel relieved for I have been working upon uncertainties for the last 2 or 3 wks. It may be all for the best as it, is; at least I shall try to think so.—

Walked to cousin Mary Harris's to spend the night. Report that the rebels are evacuating Columbus—The Anti-Slavery folks fear that the rebels will soon offer to compromise, & the North will only be too ready to accept their terms. How disgraceful it would be, to make new guarantees for Slavery & submit to be ruled by the Slave Power again as formerly. I think Slavery rules our government now. Congress is about passing a law that any officer or soldier who shall assist in returning fugitives shall be dismissed from service. But I think the officers will disregard it, & do as they like in spite of Congress.

March 5th, Wednesday.

cold. Good visit at cousin M's—Wm. James was to bring me home this P.M. but about one old Mr. C. came for me.— Never saw the roads in such bad condition before. There is snow & ice & water under the snow. I expected our little cutter wd. be broken, but we got along to our hill & I had no further fears, when over we went & the horse sunk in the snow. We succeeded in disengaging her from our vehicle, & she behaved admirably on the occasion, & got out safe. I had a hard walk to the house. The cutter was left till father went out with Mr. C & they drew it home. When it thaws more I think the roads will be impassable. Henry & Ann have not come yet, I am glad to be safe at home this weather, & do not expect to go out again in a long time. But I have plenty of sewing & writing to do; & this will probably be a good time to do it. The news we must conclude to dispense with.

Thursday, March 6th, 1862

Bright & cold.—Did chores, sewed & read. Two years ago today I went to see my little darling. Two years since I have seen her! Oh dear! How much I underwent that day & for several days previous. It seemed to me I could not live without seeing her. Now she is two years older and in those two years, perhaps I have nearly passed from her childish remembrance. Most likely it is so. When I think it is my own sister Sarah's child that is not allowed to see any of her mother's friends, that Sarah's child is kept from us & not allowed to see us, why, it seems too wicked to believe; too unnatural to be possible. Cousin M.H. has lately visited at Mr. S.-s who knows all about the families. They say Freda is not well, (But R. always says she is well.) & that R. seldom takes her to his father's, & they seldom see her. That the wife was petted by her first husband & her whims humored. They say

Mr. B's folks think R. was very mean not to let father see Freda last summer, & if they have said any thing to R, & his wife about it of course they will resent it.—I think R. & his wife must be far from happy, & I am sure they will some time meet their deserts. I wish them no harm, but justice will not sleep forever.

Rush. Sunday, March 9th,

Today father is 75 yrs. old, & he looks like an old man. I hope he will live many yrs. yet, but it is not very probable—He has gone to meeting with mother. It is bright & mild & thawing considerably, I intend to write to Ella & Mary & Sally A.F.—The snow will probably leave us soon, & the roads will be so bad there will be no getting out. Friday morning Henry & Ann came from K. gone two wks. They talk of moving into the stone house near us & seem to be fixing to do so. I shall believe it when they go. This will be much better than to have Ann live here, but still she will be near enough to annoy us in various ways.

Had letter from Mary. They are all well, but she sees some lonely hours. Minnie knows her letters, I do hope Mary will take pains in teaching her.

Yesterday made elephant for Eddy Harris & a doll for Inez. Sewed till my eyes ached. I have subscribed for the Tribune. My first one has come. No particular war news.

Tuesday, March 11th.

Yesterday washed & worked on Doll's clothes. Today made the shoes, Bonnet, &c, & finished it entirely. It is very pretty indeed, & I am sure Inez will like it.

Last Monday the Teachers & others sailed from N. York for Port Royal about 60 in all. If I could have gone too! I suppose they are now enjoying the warm spring of the sunny south, instead of looking out as I do upon snow banks & ice wh. still cover all the landscape here. I do exceedingly regret that I was unable to go to Port Royal. It was just what I desired.

Henry & Ann with Jim & Margaret have been away all day housecleaning. It is 105 wks, since I have seen my darling.

March, Wednesday 12th, 1862.

Bright & cold. Henry & Ann have moved today, taken all their things away! Ann left by the back door & said nothing to anybody. I think she has not spoken to father or mother in several days. Henry behaves very civilly towards father, lately. I hope it will last. Jim behaves better too, makes less noise & is more civil. I dread going into the room they have left. It will never seem pleasant again, although it is the best chamber in the house. It is about a year & a half since I have been in to it. It has not seemed like a part of our house. They always locked it when they left it, if for not more than an hour, I hardly know what was in it. How unnaturally we have lived here for nearly two years. But I think it will be more pleasant now.

Read Democrat. Lots of news.

Our army is moving. even the Potomac Army is not quiet. Great success in the West. Columbus, the Gibralter of the Rebels, has been evacuated, & the U.S. Flag waves over its forts. Our troops have attacked the rebels in various[?] places, & been victorious. There has been one naval battle.

Capt. Dupont's expedition has taken Fort Clinch, Florida, & all the Georgia Coast is under Federal control. The president has sent a message to Congress, wh. The Democrat says is the greatest event of all.—I cannot see much encouraging in it, but it makes a profound sensation. He proposes to Congress to proclaim to the Slave States that compensation will be made to them if they will take measures to liberate their slaves. He wishes them, the states, to do it themselves & do it gradually. But "if Congress does not think it best there is an end of it," he says.

It seems to me the effect of this will be to pacify the people at the North, & they will keep still, taking if for granted that some thing is about to be done for the slave. In the mean time the war will close by some compromise with the rebels; & then northern politicians will say the war has cost so much that they can make no compensation to the slave owners & they will keep their slaves as before, & the golden moment with us will have passed, for "in time of peace we have no right to meddle with Slavery," I cannot rejoice over the message, somehow it seems fraught with mischief. It will only serve, I fear, to occupy attention till the time has passed in which we could have done something.

Thursday March 13th.

Bright. March weather.

Margaret left here this morning. She had worked here since last October. We are to be our own Bridgets now, & I

shall like it for awhile, at least untill we can get things cleaned up, for M. was anything but a tidy girl, & everything she had any thing to do with is as dirty as it can well be. Mother & I have spent nearly the whole day in cleaning kitchen utensils, scouring dishes & cupboards &c., & a hard day's work we have had too. But I shall enjoy the fact of having clean dishes on the table once more, & hope the food will relish better than it has done since October last.

I cannot realize yet that we have the house to ourselves, that Ann is gone away entirely, for I did not see much of her when she was here. She spent most of her time in her reception room, & left the hired girl to do about as she liked, in the kitchen. Such housekeeping as we have had here ought to be scarce. I hope Ann will do better now that she is by herself. I am sure we shall have a chance to.

Saturday March 15, 1862

Rained all day. Now we must expect a freshet. The brooks on each side of us roar, & the roads are nearly impassable. Yesterday wrote to Joe Van B. fear we shall not hear from him as often after this, as the Army of the Potomac is moving. I dare say Mary is uneasy now.—Henry brought Tribune from office yesterday. There has been a great Federal victory in Arkansas after a 3 days fight. Many killed on both sides. Ben M^cCulloch killed. A Naval fight on the 8 & 9th, at the mouth of James River. The iron clad steamer Merrimac destroyed two of our largest war frigates the Congress & the Cumberland. Then she was attacked by the iron clad Monitor (Ericsons new vessel, this was her first trial) which disabled & drove off the Merrimac which was 4 times the size of the Monitor, the latter was unhurt. No fight

of the kind ever took place before. The vessels touched each other part of the time but no men were to be seen on either. The Monster Merrimac which the rebels have been to work at for 6 months looks like an iron roof with a smoke stack upon it.

The Monitor is flat, only 18 inches out of the water, with a bombproof turret containing 2 guns on pivots & a smoke stack, which latter is lowered into the vessel when it stops. It is a new invention, & if successful is to be bought by the government. The balls of those 2 guns are of wrought iron and cost \$47 a piece. 200 or 300 men were lost on the Congress & Cumberland.

I have done house work today & looked over papers. Read speech of Carl Schurz in N.Y. in favor of emancipation. Very able.

It is 115 weeks since my darling Freda was taken from me. I dreamed of riding with her last night. We had two white horses & one of them tried to bite her. We were in a sleigh with George Gridley. No box on the sleigh & it was covered with ice, & it was difficult to keep on it.—

Sunday March 16th,

Snow 6 or 8 inches deep, & it is snowing yet. It is colder, & the wind is drifting the snow. The travelling is terrible. Henry did not come down yesterday nor today. Hard times for cattle if they are exposed. Have made a thorough toilet, looked over & put away things, wrote a little & read some.

Manassas has been evacuated by the Rebels.— M°Clellan has allowed all that army that we have been watching for 7 months to get away from him, & go further south & entrench themselves & make us more expense. When our army took possession of Manassas they are said to have gnashed their teeth with rage, to find that it was by no means a formidable place, & not a rebel was left. Think of it, 100000 of our soldiers have been watching it ever since the battle of Bull Run, & afraid to attack it, & at last let the rebels escape.—But as M°Clellan

permitted it, people excuse it; suppose it had happened to have been Fremont's department. Wouldn't they blow him sky high?

A new arrangement has been made. M°Clellan is no longer Commander in Chief of all the armies, but only of the Army of the Potomac, & this has five divisions. The Generals are McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman, Keyes & Banks. And there is a new "Mountain Department" comprising Western Va. Eastern Ky. & Eastern Tenn. & Fremont is Major Gen. of this department. The forces left for the defense of Washington are placed in command of Brig-Gen. Jas. Wadsworth, who is also military Governor of the District of Columbia. Last week's Tribune contained the Defense of Fremont, his statement & evidence as presented to the Joint Committee of the two Houses on the Conduct of the War. It shows that injustice has been done him, & his friends consider it a triumphant vindication of himself

Tuesday March 18th.

Bright & Thawing some. I wish the snow wd. go off. Yesterday washed & got tired out. My arms ache badly. Letter from Frances. She is not well, but Ella is quite smart. Eliza Van is sick. F. is glad that I did not go to Port Royal. Theodore Van W. is in Washington sick with Measles. Morgan is going to see to him.—Got new Standard. Mass meeting in N.Y. of the Enemies of Slavery—great demonstration. Expecting a battle near the Potomac somewhere—

Today I have ironed & done other housework & written to Cousin Kate Mawsy[?]. Wednesday March 19th,

Very bright. Went to Avon with Mother in cutter. Henry been to city in wagon. Read news. Battle at Fort Craig, New Mex. New Madrid taken by our troops. New York harbor to be garrisoned.

Thursday 20th.

This P.M. took cutter ride, probably the last this season. Some bare spots.

Called at Mr. B's.—Freda has had measles & that is all I could hear about her. Visited at Mr. Dailey's. Euphemia has returned from Michigan. Letter from Angeline. Theodore & Morgan have got back from W. T. has got over measles. Could not get pass to go into Va. so they did not see Joe Van B. The storm of last Friday in Somerset covered the trees with ice, then a hard wind blew & many were entirely destroyed. Peach trees in particular. It is a scene of desolation. Alfred's beautiful shade trees are stripped as naked as flag staffs. What a pity. The labor & improvements of many years are gone. Saturday Mar. 22^d

Yesterday it snowed again & looks as wintry as ever. Alfred came last night & went away this morning. No particular news.

Read Standard & Tribune. Newbern has been taken after a hard battle. Many killed & wounded, six forts, guns &c. \$2000000 of property.—All Western Florida in our possession

New Madrid has been taken, fighting in progress at Island No. 10. Great excitement throughout the country. Events crowd upon us. But M°Clellan has done nothing yet, only taken possession of Centerville & Manassas, no stores of any amount left by rebels, no munitions of war. A ruined, desolate place. Particular description in Tribune of this rebel stronghold. The guns at Centerville are mostly logs of wood, & no defences at all by any means formidable. I should think M°Clellan wd. be mortified to death. I think this escape of the rebels is as disgraceful to us as the defeat of Bull Run. Perhaps McC. will yet do something to retrieve his lost reputation, for he has lost immensely in the confidence of the people. They say he did not move now until commanded by the President & Sec. of War, & that his not doing any thing was the cause of his command's being restricted to the Army of the Potomac. The Democrats & pro slavery

folks stand up for him, as he is very proslavery. I suppose Joe has moved by this time, wish we could hear from him. How anxious Mary must be now. Oh! dear, such terrible loss of life as there has been.

Wendell Phillips visit to Washington is a great event. He lectured twice to crowds & was invited to an interview with the President. Accompanied by Chas. Sumner he visited the Senate & Vice Pres. Hamlin descended from the dais to receive him. It was like holding a levee, so many crowded about him to speak to him. Speaker Grow invited him to dinner with Vice Pres. & wife, Sumner & Mrs. Fremont &c. It is said he never delivered grander Lectures. Indeed the whole was not only a success but a triumph. 15 months ago the Boston mob was seeking his life. Now he proclaims the most radical sentiments in Washington, & even went into Virginia by invitation of officers & spoke to the Massachusetts troops. Glorious, isn't it?

Monday March 24th.

Washed &c. Commenced cleaning front chamber. It was a year & a half since I had been in the room. It will seem strange to have it to use again. Many holy but sad associations belong to that room, & I will try not to think of the two years of desecration it has which I hope has now terminated.—I will clean it & arrange my own furniture in it & try to make it look pleasant & homelike again. It is the most comfortable sleeping room in the house & it will be a great convenience to have it to use again.

Tuesday March 25th.

Washed dishes & ironed. Cleaned girl's bedroom & 2 bedsteads, sewed &c, & tonight I am very tired. Arms ache severely. It is 107 wks. since I have seen my little darling. Oh dear, how the time goes, & Freda is forgetting us, & none of us can see her. How long, oh! Lord, how long?

Mar. 26

Put down carpet in front chamber & other housework, almost tired out. Letter from Mary Julia. No important news. But it is a satisfaction to hear from her & Eddy. Father has bought a new horse for \$80, a spirited-looking animal & I think not safe for father or myself to drive. He is a pale canary, or a faded cream color, or a subdued yellow, or in other words, a dirty white. He may look better after shedding his coat.

Thursday 27th.

Finished cleaning & arranging chambers & am oh! so tired again. No papers this week yet, travelling bad.

Friday 28th.

Cleaned entry & stairs & it has been a hard job. Now our upstairs is all in order. It looks old fashioned & homelike again, & I do not regret the hard work

it has cost to bring it into a comfortable state once more. Henry & Ann would hardly know their "reception room" now with its rag carpet & plain old furniture, & scanty at that. But I know it very well & like it too.—

This P.M. went with father to Avon. Drove Henry's horse instead of the new one, roads bad. Wind & snow drifts.— A very welcome & satisfactory letter from Mrs. Coleman. Having a course of anti slavery lectures in Rochester. Wendell Phillips, Dr. Cheever, F. Douglass & Theodore Tilton. How well I would like to hear all those speakers. A life in the city has many desirable privileges. Got Papers. A terrible battle at Winchester, Va. Rebels fled. Several other skirmishes. No news from Joe Van B.— Wendell P. has been mobbed in Cincinnati. When the unclean spirits are going out of men, they foam & rage terribly.

Sunday Mar. 30th.

Intended to go to meeting with Father, but before 10 A.M. it became so boisterous we gave it up. A genuine March day.

The snow melts very slowly. It has been cold all the week & freezes hard nights. Yesterday had time to rest a little, & I feel quite refreshed. Sewed & read some. Mr. Hoamer[?] & Mr. Bryan called, to tell us Mr. Elmore is to preach his last sermon today. He finds it too hard to raise a salary of \$500 in Avon.—

Yesterday it was 117 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me. I have pictures of her taken at three different times, & I wonder if any of them look like her now. I have them hanging near my usual seat, & also Mary Julia's & Neddy's, & two of Minnie's & Florence's & Theodore Van W.'s when about 8 yrs. old. I love to look at this group of little ones but trust not myself to think much of their future. Have no pictures of sister E's children.

Home Monday March 31 1862

Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. 28 yrs. ago this P.M. between the hours of 3 & 4 o'clock she breathed her last, & 10 children were left motherless. If she had lived to guide them how different might have been the lives of some of them. I was about 20 at the time & how little I knew what those 7 brothers & sisters younger than myself needed. How little I knew of household duties. Yet I undertook all this responsibility, I tried to do by duty & supply as far as I could a mother's place, & much satisfaction I received in the discharge of my duty. And when in less than two yrs. a stranger arrives was put in my loved mother's place, & I was told that I was no longer needed in the home of those little brothers & sisters, none but God & myself knew what a bitter sorrow was mine. To leave the youngest darling to a stranger's care, the little one that I had cherished

so tenderly for our mother's sake, that I had learned to love with my whole soul, oh! it was a bitter, bitter cup! Yet I was obliged to drink it, for was I not motherless? Then the weary years that followed, so full of anxiety for those motherless children that I saw only occasionally.

But this once motherless infant is now is now 28 yrs. old & has two little ones of her own, & is alone with them far away in Michigan. I have this moment received a letter from her husband dated at Old Point Comfort, Va. His brigade moved from the Potomac last week under Hamilton's command. There are some 50000 men at Hampton Roads now, but they know not where they are going. He says they have no baggage only what they carry on their backs.

I think they are to attack Norfolk, & I presume Joe will soon have experience in fighting. May God preserve him, & return

him safe to his wife & little ones. Oh! how anxious Mary must feel now. I wish I could be with her. Expected a kitchen girl today, but she has gone to another place. I have washed & done various kinds of work, & read & wrote some.

Rush, April 6th, Sunday,

<u>Freda's Birth Day.</u> She is now six yrs. old.—& I cannot see her nor hear from her, I wonder how long things will remain thus. Yesterday it was <u>118 wk</u>s. since she was taken from us!

Rather a tiresome week. Housework, sewing & reading. Unpleasant weather, so wet there is no going out. Snow banks in the garden yet. This morning it was frozen so that I went nearly to the hill. The flats are overflowed & the streams are high; but the snow goes off very slowly.

No particular war news. Congress has voted on no important measures yet.

Interesting accounts from the Company that went to Port Royal.—Rev. N.R. Johnston says he had no idea that such degradation existed in our country; & the presence of the military makes it worse for the negroes. The blacks need every thing.

The Express & The Herald talk as bad as they can & oppose the efforts of the Government & individuals to do good to those injured people. They want the abolitionists kept away from them. A more satanic spirit I never saw manifested.

Last Tuesday cousin Cyrus & wife & Elisa called to see us.— I have been making a Flag. It is very pretty indeed, & a good sized one too, as large as I can conveniently handle. The next fine day I mean to have it out. There is a great deal of work upon it. But I should not care for a Flag unless it was nice. I presume I shall never make another.

Rush, Sunday April 13th, 1862.

A week of anxious excitement, such terrible battles. Sickening to read & think of. I have done housework, & various repairing, & quilted a skirt, worked pretty hard. Wednesday I went to Avon, Roads bad. Some snow banks yet. Mrs. Bigelow took tea with us.

Wednesday—

Letter from Ella. She is quite well, intends to go to D. the 23^d of this month. Avon bells were ringing for victory. Island No 10 has been taken by Gen. Pope, with 3 generals, 6000 prisoners & 100 siege guns &c. &c. Not a man lost on our side. This was April 8. everything there given up.

On Sunday & Monday the 6th. & 7th. there was a battle at Pittsburgh landing on Tenn. River, in South Tenn. Many forces engaged on both sides. Many killed, wounded & taken prisoners on both sides, at last Rebels fled to Corinth in Miss. Gen. Prentice taken prisoner the first day. Many of our officers killed.

Gen. Grant was attacked by a much larger force of Rebels & suffered terribly before Buell came to his assistance. Rebel Gen. Johnston killed. Beaureguard wounded. The accounts are awful to read.

Another horrid battle at Corinth on the *[Transcriber's note: blank space left]* but we have no particulars yet. Last evening I heard several guns, so there is news probably of another victory somewhere. There are interesting accounts from at from Port Royal. Sad yet hopeful. Oh! dear.

On the 5th, Yorktown was attacked by the Potomac army. They left Fortress Monroe. M°Clellan, Heintzelman, Porter, Hooker & Hamilton were ahead. Joe is in Hamilton's Command & was probably engaged in this attack. Yorktown is 24 miles from F. Monroe. It rained, & the march was very uncomfortable. Yorktown is strongly defended. Four miles of batteries & intrenchments. List of our killed & wounded in Tribune. Mostly Massachusetts men. Bordan's sharpshooters

took the lead.—At night the firing on both sides ceased.—had no news from there since, only that our forces were waiting. But before this the battle has no doubt been fought & Yorktown taken possession of by our troops, for if skills & numbers could do it. McClellan cd. command them.

Letter from Mary yesterday. She is very sad & anxious now; it was written the 7th, so then she did not know of this attack on Y. but was expecting all the while to hear of a battle. She wants me to come to her, and I wd. like to go, but don't see the way open yet. I wish she cd. be here with her children this Summer.—

Today is fine & warm. Some things are up in the garden. I must clean out the beds this week.— I have been writing to Ella & Mary Julia & Cousin A. Rapalje. Read this evening. I wish Frances & Ella or some of the Somerset folks would come now. It is so lonesome here.—

Apr. 13th, 1862.

²Diary Rush, Tuesday, April 15th, 1862

Fine weather. Did housework, ironing, & sewing. <u>110 wks</u> since I have seen my darling Freda. Have not heard from her in several weeks. How long will it be thus?

Had letter from Joe Van B. It was written on the 6th. inst. the day after the attack on Yorktown, he was seated on his knapsack, gun by his side, in front of the fortifications at Yorktown, & the rebels sending occasionally shot & shell, The latter burnt in the air; the former they don't mind any more than they would a pop gun. I suppose they were at a safe distance. He expected the fight would commence the next day & felt, probably, as any one would in near prospect of a deadly conflict.

But as yet we do not learn that our army has done any thing more. The rebels have been reinforced & mounted more guns.

I think our army is in a tight place. I wonder & wonder what M^cClellan will do. Will he sacrifice his men by storming the place, or will he retreat with his 'Grand Army'? A few days more will answer that I suppose.

Joe says the march through Hampton was through the woods & mud & rain. It was a quick march & so fatiguing that many fell out by the way & came straggling in towards night. He was almost exhausted & sweat so that he was nearly blinded. He says they are in what they call heavy marching order, knapsacks, guns, equipments & ammunition, & they can't carry enough clothes to keep them warm nights, great quantities thrown away on the march. He had no idea how many thousand men were there. It was a sight to see the artillery & the wagons. He did not partake in the attack the Day before, but heard the firing. He says these sharpshooters say that most

of the men they saw were negroes. They could see them plainly loading the cannon. Joe says while at Hampton 10 contrabands came into camp. They had been several days without food in the woods, & they were nearly exhausted so that one died next morning. Joe had seen the Monitor but not the Merrimac. He sent me some shells from old Point Comfort. Gen. Keyes is to cut off the retreat of rebels to Richmond. Gen McDowall has his corps on transports in Chesapeake Bay ready to land as soon as the gunboats prepare a way for them. But these plans may all be thwarted. And what then! Well, well, we shall see.

Wednesday, Apr. 16th.

Delightful. I have worked in the garden till I am very, very tired, & did the usual housework besides. My beds look nicely, but I do not feel that interest in them that I have done before.

² Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26053_001 to HC13-26053_064 in their Folder entitled Apr. 15th 1862 to Jun. 22nd, 1862.

Have written to Joe Van B.

Friday Apr. 18

Yesterday finished working in my flower beds & they were all ready for a rain & last night there was a heavy rain, & the grass looks green today.

In the P.M. Euphemia & Addie & Mattie D. were here & I enjoyed their visit. Today has been showery. This A.M. I was almost sick but I worked considerably & this P.M. went to Ira Green's & had quite a pleasant visit.

Old Mr. B. & wife have been to Harvey B's & I called there to inquire about Freda. Mrs. B. says the old lady said she had not been to Revilo's this winter & Freda had not been there since in the winter, so she had not seen her lately. She said "Freda is not very well. She does not grow much & is poor. She was not very sick with the measles, but has got over that sickness. She looks pale & delicate." I think Freda has not had much care lately, for R's wife & family have all been sick.

Saturday <u>April 19th</u>, 1862. At Home.

The Anniversary of Sarah's death. I cannot make it seem possible that <u>four years</u> have passed since then; but so it is. Freda was <u>6 yrs. old</u> the 6th of this month, & little Sarah Alice would have been <u>4 yrs.</u> old had she lived till the 11th of this month. It is <u>120 wks</u>. since Freda was so cruelly taken from her mother's friends; from those who loved her so dearly for her Mother's sake as well as her own.

And <u>110 wks</u>. since she has seen any of us, since I held her in my arms & kissed her dear cheek. I do not like to think how she may have been neglected the past winter, for the family have been sick & they could get no help. I am sure she has wanted my care. Oh! that I could have given it to her. She needs kind & loving care to keep her well,— But it seems she is no longer healthy & strong, but pale & delicate.

To think that it is <u>Sarah's child</u> that is kept away from us so! Oh! it was a mercy that Sarah could not know what wd. happen after she was gone. <u>Four years</u> I have waited & lived on, apart of this time in wretched, aimless inaction, hoping for better days. And now I know not what to do, but I must do something. No one here that cares for me but father; & he, I think, would not raise much objection to my going away. If I could see my sisters oftener, & visit more with friends, & have them come here as they used to, it wd. seem worthwhile to try to do something. But my labor now seems mostly in vain. Those I love cannot enjoy it nor appreciate it.

I do so wish that Mary & her children could live here this summer. Oh! that we had a Mother to love us, to feel an interest in us, to desire our presence! A mother that wd. be glad to do something for us instead of begrudging any help or favors we might receive at home

Sunday Apr. 20th.

Beautiful day. Been to the Farm & gathered mosses & the first flowers of the season. (bloodroot.) Could Mary Julia, or Freda, or Minnie be with me how good it would seem. I have been alone part of the day. It is lonely with no human being near. Father & Mother have been to church. I have read new 'Standard.' No particular war news. M^cClellan makes no further attack on Yorktown. He finds a stronger place there than he anticipated. Oh! dear, what will come of it?— The subject of garrisoning the Southern Forts with negroes during the summer is under consideration. I hope they will yield to necessity if to nothing else & arm the blacks. This will be an important step,—

The Capital of the Nation is at last free! Slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia! Senate Yeas-29; Nays-14. House -Yeas 93, Nays 39. Every Republican Member who was present in either house when the vote was taken voted <u>yea</u>. The President has signed the Bill.

The pro slavery forces will howl all they dare. Such meanness as they show will never be rooted out of them.

Mr. Sumner has presented a petition 700 feet long for the abolition of slavery. It was signed by 15000 women. Mr. Kelley of Pa. presented a duplicate of the same to the House. But oh! when will the end of slavery come?

Monday 21st.

Rained all day. Discouraging for farmers. Ann Miller came by to day to work for us. Now I shall not be confined to washing dishes. To day have washed & read Tribune, what thrilling accounts of Pittsburg (or Shiloh) battle! Both sides claim the victory. Rebels took the most prisoners, & Unionists killed the most rebels. our loss in killed, wounded & prisoners is 8 or 9000 probably, o more news from Yorktown.

Wednesday 23^d.

Freezing cold. Can't clean house nor

clean door yard, nor work in garden. Today & yesterday have done various chores. Looked over old papers & read some.

No late news. Letters from Eliza Van W., Mary Julia & S.A. Ferriss. Somerset folks well. Mr. Griffin has sold out. Charlotte has moved her shop to 56 State St.—Sis has no vacation till July. I was in hopes she cd. come up this <u>spring</u> & stay awhile.

Friday, Apr. 25th.

Fine. cool. Washed bed quilts & cleaned door yard. & am so very, very tired. No new papers this week.

Read Chas. Sumner's Speech "The Crime Against Kansas" delivered in the Senate May 19th. & 20th, 1856. Brook's assault on Sumner was on the 22d.1856. —I had forgotten

this speech & the particulars connected with it—the part Douglass, Mason & Butler took in abusing Mr. Sumner, &c. I have been reading it all & the opinions of the press North & South & I am filled with righteous indignation.

Keitt, Douglass, Edmundson & others were present. to protect & encourage Brooks. The Slaveholders had it all their own way. None meaner or more abusive than S.A. Douglass. But <u>three</u> of these have already gone where the Slaveholders go. Those Kansas times were terrible. Kansas was literally baptized in blood & fire.

Sumner is now a leading man in the Senate & slavery is abolished in the Dist. of Columbia! This is something to thank God for, & give us courage. One year ago, we could hardly hope for so much as this. Wendell Phillips says he does not think this abolishing S. in the Dist. is as significant as the message of the President. The Pres. is ahead of the manifestations of the people. The message means more than men accord to it. Noticing some criticisms upon it Lincoln said, "There is more in it than people see. Did you ever hear the story of the Irishman who went

down to the State of Maine, in Maine liquor law times, & asked for a glass of soda water, adding, 'Couldn't you put a drop of the crather in it unbeknown to meself? So I have put a large drop of the crather in it unbeknown to them."

Phillips is ever hopeful. He says "for the first time in the history of the Government, it has done an anti Slavery act, it has spoken an Anti Slavery word. Enough to have gained in twelve months." Mr. P. said he did not believe McClellan to be a traitor, but he thought he represented, with Buell & Halleck, the Fairfaxes & Essexes in Eng. Revolution of 1640, who were anxious not to hurt anybody, while Fremont, Sigel, & Hunter represented Cromwell & Ireton, who were not afraid to strike even the King, he says Lincoln holds out his hands & says "How far may I go?" Answer him. Tell him the ice is thick thus far, & will be thicker an arrow's flight ahead. Mr. P. has heard the "John Brown Song" on the sacred soil of Virginia."

Rush Saturday Apr. 25th.

Worked but little, feel tired & lame in consequence of overwork yesterday. Read this P.M. & evening. Father has been to Uncle J.'s, & brought the papers.

Fort Pulaski, Ga. has been taken after a bombardment of 30 hours. Eleven batteries of 36 guns on Tybee Island, from 1250 yds. to 3400 yds., opened upon it on the 10th. inst. This was one of the strongest forts in the U.S. & was said to be unassailable. Rebel loss three wounded & 385 prisoners. Union loss one killed. It is worth while to fight in this way & not kill each other. Would that all battles were like it. But alas! it is not so.

The Potomac Army near Yorktown have had several skirmishes & several killed. Near Lee's Mills on the 16th. The Vermonters attacked the enemy's Rifle pits & a bloody fight

ensued. A creek was between them. They plunged in on the run. The water deepened unexpectedly. The men were soon

wading up to their breasts, their cartridges slung up on their shoulders, & their muskets held up high. The moment they entered the stream the Rebels swarmed on the edge of the Rifle pit, & rained a fire of bullets on the advancing line. The Vermonters loaded & fired as they waded. Their killed & wounded began to fall from the moment of entering the water. They dashed into the rifle pit & fought an hour against overwhelming numbers. They had to retreat, & fired as they went, carrying their wounded. A Lamville Co. boy not 16 said, 'Why, it was just like sap boiling in that stream—the bullets fell so thick," — our loss was 40 killed & 200 wounded & missing. Oh! dear, Appalachicola, La., taken. Fredericksburg Va. taken, this is 60 miles from Richmond. Floods in various parts of the country, much damage done.—Battle in New Mexico. Texans fell back, our loss considerable. Banks & McDowell advancing up the Shenandoah. McClellan is making formidable preparations, but

task is to be a hard one, & the result by no means certain. A desperate battle will probably occur there soon. Wish we could hear from Joe Van B. again. Rebels said to be preparing for a desperate stand at Corinth. Beauregard has an immense army there. The friends of Fremont are displeased that he has so long been denied artillery & transportation, as if it were the purpose of the government to prevent him from fighting, to give him no opportunity to distinguish himself in connection with the war. The pro slavery hounds are trying to get Mr. Stanton out of the Cabinet. The President thinks things are going to turn out right.

It is said the rebels are damming up the York River & intend & to flood the Union troops—drown out McClellan's army—The Merrimac keeps out of sight, Gen. Sherman says "McClellan prohibited him from making any attack on Savannah"!

He is obliged to make it known now to save his own reputation, as he has been accused of slackness.

Sunday, Apr. 27th.

Fine weather. Father & mother have been to meeting. Drove the new horse, Canary. Father likes the horse, but I was afraid to have him drive him, he looks so large & stout & go-ahead. I would like to go to meeting once more, but no way seems to open.—

Tuesday, 29th. April.

putting large guns in position, making roads &c. They are in a dangerous place, no doubt, & the event is uncertain.

Sunday May 4th, 1862

Pleasant today, but nearly all the week the weather has been wet & cold. No trees in blossom, too wet to plough. Discouraging for farmers.

Wednesday, the only pleasant day, then I worked in the garden, sowed flower seeds, made the beds too & was completely tired out. Did some housecleaning besides. Thursday, rained all day, helped clean large chamber & worked in parlor. Letter from

Henrietta. Wm. Penn has been sick again. They have moved on to another, two miles from Dundee. Henrietta's brother Sidney is dead.

Friday, thundershowers, cleaned parlor & did various chores. Read Tribune.

Saturday, no weather to clean carpets or to clean house. Felt uncommonly depressed & lonely & discouraged. Is it a presentiment of some new trouble, or because I am not well & can do

nothing in particular am I thus dull & lonesome? <u>122 wks</u>, since the joy of my heart, the light of my eyes, was removed from my care. Oh dear! —I cannot say with Mrs. Browning,

"For us___ whatever's undergone,
Thou knowest, willest what is done,
Grief may be joy misunderstood;
Only the Good discerns the good.
I trust Thee while my days go on.
I praise Thee while my days go on;
I love Thee while my days go on.
Through dark & dearth, through fire & frost,
With emptied arms & treasure lost,
I thank Thee while my days go on."
Again,

"Tired out are we, my heart & I. Suppose the world brought diadems To tempt us, crusted with loose gems Of powers & pleasures? Let it try. We scarcely care to look at even A pretty child, or God's blue heaven, We feel so tired, my heart & I.

Yet who complains? My heart & I? In this abundant earth no doubt

Is little room for things worn out:
Disdain them, break them, throw them by?
And if before the days grew rough
We <u>once</u> were loved, used —well enough,
I think we've fared, my heart & I.

I'm ready to go to meeting with father. Hardly know when I went last. Wonder if I shall know how to behave when I get there?

2 o'clock P.M.

Squally. Have returned from a dry meeting. Mr. Nott was just as inspiriting as usual. Drove new horse, ride has done me a little good. Now must write to Henrietta & Wm. Penn

Interesting news from Port Royal. Gen. Hunter emancipates the slaves of rebels who have been employed against the U.S.—This is all that Fremont attempted to do, & yet he was deprived of his command. Hope Gen. H. will be more successful in his wishes—

Tuesday, May 6th

Yesterday washed, ironed curtains &c. Wrote three letters & was tired enough. Today I have put down parlor carpet & regulated the room. All that part of the house is cleaned now.—

Have been to Harry B's.—Yorktown was evacuated Saturday night the 3^{d.} inst. & McClellan was in pursuit of rebels. If he lets them escape again it will be too bad— Fort Macon has been surrendered after a bombardment of 10 hours. Exciting movements in all directions. Think we shall hear from Joe soon.

I have determined to go to Michigan or to Dutchess before long & must go to Rochester first.—to-morrow or next day.

Wednesday 7th.

Letters from Frances & C. Post & Joe Van B. Ella has gone to Detroit, is quite well. Aunt Phebe S. expects to visit us this season. Joe's letter was written Apr. 28th, were

expecting a battle, thought the rebels wd. not escape this time, but if they did escape he wd. have to say that "M^cClellan was slow." But before I got his letter, they have escaped sure enough! He has had to work very hard & fare very hard since he has been at Y. but does not complain.

I walked to E. Avon & called at Leland's & Mr. Wiand's. So tired. Went in Express to W. Avon to stay at Mr. Winans till morning. Went to Burying ground. Blossoms begin to appear.

Thursday 8th.

Went to Rochester. C. quite unwell. Sis & Neddy well—Called on Mrs. Coleman. Visited stores, but bought nothing.

Can get no money of C. & am so disappointed. Perhaps I cant go to Michigan or Dutchess after all. So tired tonight.

Friday. Fine warm

Did shopping. Bought Neapolitan bonnet for \$5.38. New style.— Bought 10 yds.

Mozambique for \$5.00 so I am to have new dress once more. Run about all day. At night went to John R's, so tired. Staid at John R.'s all night.

M^cClellan is in pursuit of rebels, battle at Williamsburg, 10 miles from Yorktown. 30000 Union beat 50000 rebels, considerable loss on both sides. 2^d. Michigan Regt. in the battle. In Company F-(Joe's) there was one killed & 14 wounded. This was on the _____ McClellan is following them up.

This P.M. The Merrimac & Monitor have been sent out & gunboats have been firing at Sewall's point. The President has been there to see them. Wish I could be there too.

A desperate battle at West Point 25 miles from Yorktown. Rebels driven on still further.—Cherry trees in blossom.

Saturday.

Bright. Windy. In morning finished shopping. Came to Avon at 11 A.M. Dined at Mr. W's. Mary W. & Susan B. came home with me.

Sunday May 11th.

Went to church with father. Heard Mr. Elmer. Feel so tired, can do but little. In evening cousin Cyrus & wife & Eliza called. E. will go with me to Dutchess or Michigan if I go. Trees in full blossom.

Monday May 12.

Washed & did various things. Wrote to Joe Van B.—Went to Harvey B's. No word from Freda.—

Norfolk is taken. Rebels have burnt Navy Yard & blown up the Merrimac.

Wednesday, May 14th.

Cleaned sitting room. Worked in garden, sewed some &c. Walked to Mrs. B's. She has letter from Joe Van B. written on the battlefield the morning after the battle May 6th at Williamsburg. He made a forced march & went into battle on the double quick. In the 2^d. Mich. Regt. 30 were killed & 100 wounded. In Co. F. one man killed & 14 wounded. Kearney commands the division, &

Berry is the Brig. Gen.—Joe was getting the men of his Company together & was going right on after the rebels who left Williamsburg the night after the battle.

Thursday 16th.

Cleaned closets & washed the dishes, & helped put down the sitting room carpet. Mr. B. & wife here to tea. Have had locks & bolts put on several doors.

Friday mercury at 80°

In A.M. cleaned chimney &c. In P.M. walked to Uncle Jeptha's & Uncle Ephraim's. Very hot so tired. Ann could go to Avon with father's horse and buggy, but I had to trudge on foot. Father told me in morning I couldn't have a horse for if they did not work they must rest. Such things are not right, but it is not the first time I have been wronged in the same way.

Saturday 17th.

Very warm. This A.M. sewed some. Aunt Eliza does not conclude yet to go to Michigan with me, nor Cousin Eliza either.

About 2 °clock went over to Uncle J's, & after tea Ezra & Emmaline came home with me. I was so glad of a chance to ride.

The weather is delightful. Trees are in full blossom & the air is filled with fragrance.

Letters from Elma & Cousin Kate. E. is quite well.—Cousin K. tells me many things about Gen. Prentiss, whose house is in Quincy, & she is acquainted with him. She was in St. Louis when the wounded were brought there from Pittsburg Landing. Several hundred have been taken to Quincy too. Aunt Phebe intends to come east this season.—A naval engagement on the Mississippi. rebels boats sunk & taken.

Full & interesting accounts of the taking of New Orleans & Forts Jackson & St. Phillip &c. rebels destroyed some 8 or 10 million dollars worth of cotton & shipping. Our total loss 36 killed & 123 wounded. rebels loss 1000 or 1500 besides prisoners. Two great iron clad rams were sunk by our

troops, Mayor N.O. & others refused to take the oath of allegiance, & have been sent to prison.—On Sunday last the country was startled by the news that Gen. Wool had taken possession of Norfolk, Portsmouth, & the Gosport Navy Yard without a battle, & the rebels had blown up the "invincible Merrimac" to keep it from falling into our hands. The President & Sec. Chase were present when the city formally surrendered.—

M^cClellan is advancing toward Richmond with a large force, supported by gunboats in James River. Last news say Gen. Stoneman's advance is10 miles from Richmond in sight of the enemy. Expect a battle there. Rebels will probably evacuate Richmond, very soon.

Republicans in Congress are doing all they can but the Confiscation & Tax Bills have not been passed yet. Democrats making desperate efforts to prevent all Anti Slavery measures, & save the rebels from punishment. They are led by the contemptible Vallandigham.

Sunday May 18th.

Very warm. Rested considerably, read some. Wrote to Mary, & went to Harvey B's with letter. Am anxious about Mary. I fear she is in want of necessaries that she is unable to

get, & is unwilling to complain. I wish she cd. come home & stay. Joe has received no pay in 4 or 5 months.—

Great complaint is made by the families of soldiers. Report says some 2 or 300 women armed with sticks & clubs went to the City Hall in N.Y. to demand relief of the Mayor. It is too bad, for many of these men were promised that their families should be taken care of if they wd. enlist.

If we had a <u>mother</u> Mary would not live alone in Michigan as she does, but she wd. be in her father's house & have care & sympathy for herself & children. If she wd. come home I wd. give up going to Michigan, & may as it is. For the expense is in the way of my going.

Interesting accounts of Williamsburg battle. Grave mistakes by Gen. Sumner. Soldiers went with nothing to eat, missed the way & blundered terribly. 8000 exhausted men had to face 25000 rebels for several hours, some of their best troops among them. But before our troops gave up Heintzelman was reinforced by Gen. Kearney's division, & Gen. Berry with 3 Michigan regiments rushed into battle on a double quick and saved the day. Heintzelman's corps should have the credit of gaining this battle. The artillery cd. not be used. it was fought by the infantry.

Uncle Jeptha & Aunt Caty have called here. Shower this evening. 124 wks, yesterday since my little darling was so cruelly torn from us. Oh! When shall I see her again? If she was with me now to go to Michigan to see them all there how nice it would be, how pleasant it wd. be for us all, & it is so long since I have heard directly from her. oh! dear—

Rush Tuesday May 20th.

It is 115 wks since my darling Freda was held in these arms, since I kissed her dear cheek, & then saw her taken unwillingly from my presence. The darling child! Have not even heard from her in several months.

Today have ironed; sewed on my Mozambique dress; been to Addie Buskirk's funeral. Elder Sibley (Christian) preached the sermon. Read some. The anniversary speeches of Tilton, Phillips, Wm. W. Brown, Dr. Cheever &c. are very fine. The Anti Slavery Meetings have been an entire success.

Wednesday May 21st.

Rain last night and heavy showers this P.M. Needed it very much. Have sewed, & written to Angelina & Frances & Joe Van B. & been to Mr. B's with the letters, & came back in hard rain. Henry been to office. Have letters from Frances & Ella & Ruth Ann C. & Joe Van. F's letter for various reasons is a sad one.—She is not well & things look discouraging. Sarah Jane has buried her youngest child. The Somerset folks

are far from being happy. F. thinks they will not visit us very soon, so much work to do.—Ella is well & seem in good spirits. Joe Van B.'s was written on the 11th. on the road to Richmond, 17 miles from Williamsburg. He describes the country & Williamsburg also. He was in the thickest of the battle there, but says "there was no bullet made for him." Kearney is/was the bravest fighter in McC's army. Expected they wd. make a stand at Bottom's bridge on the Chickahominy. 15 miles from R. They follow up the enemy so close, that the rebels leave baggage wagons & artillery stuck in the mud. They are on the road nearly all day but don't march far, so many of them they are in each others way. The rebel women that they meet are worse than the men.—The only relic from the battle field that he cd. send me is a piece of a sesesh haversack (gray oil cloth). He can get plenty of cannon balls, bullets, guns, swords, bowie knives, blankets &c. but these he can't send, nor carry with him. Too bad.

He had letter from Mary the day before he wrote. She was well then, but that was 3 wks. ago.—He had written her 3 times since the battle. The papers say our entire loss at W. was 2000. So many supply trains have to follow the army that the wounded come in to Yorktown very slowly. They meet each other & the ambulances are in the way. The sick of which there are a good many, & the wounded are being sent north all the while. Gen. Hunter's proclamation of freedom to the slaves in his district, S. Carolina, Georgia & Florida; if genuine, as there are doubts of it yet, has been declared by the President in a strong Proclamation to be unauthorized by him, not valid, of no effect. The pro slavery papers are in high glee over it, & they say Hunter is to be recalled, & cannot commend Lincoln highly enough for the proclamation. Oh! dear, when will they understand that it has got to be done at last? It is said negro regiments are being organized to garrison

the forts at the South. But there may be no truth in it. Com. Dupont reports the arrival to the blockading squadrons of the rebel armed Steamer Planter, brought off from Charleston by eight contrabands under charge of an intelligent negro pilot. They run the gauntlet of the forts, & surrendered the vessel, wh. contains one of the guns of Fort Sumter & is a very valuable acquisition.— Why don't they send these niggers right back and apologize to their masters! There are plenty of <u>army</u> officers that wd. do it. But I believe no such meanness has been done by naval officers yet.

Friday May 23^d

Cool wind. Been doing chores nearly all day—fixing to go to Michigan. So many things to look over & arrange & see to before I can be ready. Things out doors look beautiful since the rain. I want to hear from Mary & from Somerset before I can fix upon a time to start. The weather is nice now for travelling. No news yesterday.

nor to day only that the President has called for 50,000 more troops. Am anxious to hear from Richmond, from M^cClellan's army.

P.M. Letters from Mary & C. Post & Mrs. A. Carpenter. Mary is well & expects me there. Cousin C. expects me in Columbia too. She will probably be disappointed. My old friend Mrs. C. is as usual. It is pleasant to hear from her again.—Want to hear from Mary once more before I decide to go.

Saturday May 24th.

Cold. Front last night. Henry planted corn today. rather late for it. Did various chores. Letters from Cousin Kate & Joe Van B. Joe's written 16th. at Cumberland Va. on the Pamunky River 23 miles from Richmond. The army has bivouacked there. He is in the rear guard & resting for a day. They march very slowly, the roads are so blocked up with artillery & supply trains. The advance is only 6 or 8 miles from R. He hopes the rebels will make a stand & have it out. Says he will

say nothing about McClellan, but will wait & see how it comes out. He has received some pay, rains a great deal there. Hopes I will go to Mich. & stay all summer with Mary— Cousin Kate sends Gen. Prentiss's Photograph & writes a very interesting letter about Brig. Gen. Prentiss, & the hospitals in Quincy &c &c She visits the hospitals & waits on the sick soldiers, writes letters for them &c.

Gen Prentiss is a friend of hers. She has a high opinion of his talents as a general & his abilities as a man. Says Grant & Prentiss had a difficulty last summer & Grant was the means of P's being taken; at least that is the talk in Quincy. Aunt P. talks of coming.

Sunday May 25th.

Very fine weather. Frost last night again. Went with father & Mother & Jim to E. Rush to funeral of Judge Jones. He was 77 & one of the pioneers. Large attendance. Saw several old friends & familiar faces. Dr. Lucky

preached from "What is man?" How I would like to visit in E. Rush once more, & I will try to do so this summer. This P.M. Cousin Jeptha called & we talked over the Dutchess friends &c.

May 27th.

Ironed & did various things & wrote to Mary & Wm. Penn. It is very pleasant today. The air is soft & loaded with perfume. Letters from Mary & Mary Julia & Sarah Jane. Mary says I must come by all means.—Neither Angeline nor Eliza can go with me. Can't leave home, but Alfred may go. S. Jane feels deeply the loss of her little one. Mary Julia writes about two military funerals, victims of Williamsburg battle.—

Hear today that Banks has met & fought a superior rebel force, & was obliged to retreat. I am expecting reverses[?] now for our government seems determined not to deserve success by doing justice to the slave,

Thursday 29th.

Yesterday Cyrus & wife & Eliza called. Have concluded to start for Mich. visit Monday. Now must pack up & get ready.

Today walked to Uncle Jeptha's & back to take letters & send by Uncle J. for our papers &c. Letters from Angeline & Francis.

Saturday May 31st. '62.

Have done various chores yesterday & today preparatory to leaving home for several weeks. Wrote to Frances & cousin Kate.

Hanover Court House 20 miles north of Richmond taken by our army. Loss on both sides. Bank's repulse & retreat was a serious affair. 1st. Maryland Reg^t nearly all killed & wounded. Fears for the safety of Washington again.

McClellan's army very near Richmond. Ira Green had letter from Joe mailed last Sunday. he was on Dr. Tyler's farm a few miles from Richmond. Steamship Oriental from N. Y. to Port Royal wrecked 30 miles from C. Hatteras. Crew & passengers saved, interesting account of it.

Slavery is discussed in Washington as never before. Jail is full of fugitive slaves all the while & they are all the while being sent back to Maryland masters <u>disloyal</u> as well as loyal. President says the law must be enforced, but the highest authority says the fugitive slave law does not apply to the D. of Columbia.

Flocks of contrabands are coming in from Virginia to Washington, & government feeds and protects them as it should. Gen. Wadsworth the military commandant at W. is doing all he can to protect them. Various opinions about Lincoln's late proclamation. Some say he is only reserving to himself the right to proclaim Emancipation, & that he means to do it. Others can see nothing in it but subserviency to the slave power & deference to the Border States. Well, we shall see.

Yesterday P.M. Mrs. B. & Mrs. Green called. Thursday Emma Cookingham & Emma Fletcher called. Very dry & dusty.

Rush June 1st. 1862. Sunday.

Summer has come round again, but it has been cold enough for several days to sit by fire. Rains now. Glad of it. Have been dreading to ride in the dust to Rochester. Must get all ready to day—In this world of changes how uncertain it is whether I ever come back here to live as I have been living for some time past.—So much pleasanter here now than it has been for two yrs. past that I wd. like to be at home this summer & have our friends visit us.—I am afraid father will be sick while I am gone, but if I go I must run the risk I suppose. I mean to enjoy the visit all I can, & I anticipate much pleasure, but there are several drawbacks to my comfort as there always will be perhaps. I have seen the time when I was in raptures at the prospect of such a journey, but

"Tired out are we, my heart & I."

"We feel so tired, my heart & I."-

-Cyrus & Wife called.-

June 2^d. Cloudy

Left home about 7 A.M. with Cyrus & Eliza. Called at Mr. Winans. Hear that Corinth is evacuated. That there have been two day's fighting at Richmond. Gen. Kearney's division engaged. Our loss 3000.—

Fremont is following up Jackson. Cleared the Shenandoah valley of rebels. Gov. Stanly has ordered colored schools in Newbern to be closed. President & Sec. Stanton have revoked the order.—Left W. Avon at 9 & reached city about 10 A.M. C & children well. Dined at J. Rapalje's. Went to Dentist's. Had part of tooth taken out, bore it finely. Did several chores. Went to C's for the night.

June 3^{d.} Cloudy.

Left Rochester at 7.35 A.M. & reached suspension bridge at 10. Nothing of interest so far. First time I ever crossed Bridge in cars. Had a glimpse of the Falls & a view of the river below Bridge for a few minutes. It is a grand sight. Cars full, From Bridge to Windsor

229 miles. Country generally uninteresting. Could not see much of Hamilton. The places we passed through are:

St. Catherines	11 miles	Large village
Grimsby	27	Encampment
Hamilton	43	Can see Lake
Flamboro	52	{Dundas a little way off
Harrisburg	62	{in a valley,
Paris	72	{Railroad comes in from
Princeton	79	{Buffalo —
Woodstock	91	Small places
Ingersoll	100	Small places
London	119	Like a city on Thames.
Komoka	129	Huron R.R. comes in
Mt. Brydges	134	Small places [Transcriber's note: written vertically
for this through Bothwell]		
Elefrid	139	
Glencoe	149	
Newberry	155	
Bothwell	160	
Chatham	183	{Colored people & fugitives
Bell River	212	{have settled here.
Windsor	229	opposite Detroit half past 7.
	Grimsby Hamilton Flamboro Harrisburg Paris Princeton Woodstock Ingersoll London Komoka Mt. Brydges Sthrough Bothw Elefrid Glencoe Newberry Bothwell Chatham Bell River	Grimsby 27 Hamilton 43 Flamboro 52 Harrisburg 62 Paris 72 Princeton 79 Woodstock 91 Ingersoll 100 London 119 Komoka 129 Mt. Brydges 134 sthrough Bothwell] Elefrid Glencoe 149 Newberry 155 Bothwell 160 Chatham 183 Bell River 212

I wd. like to know just how they are getting along. But there is so prejudice against them that it is difficult to know the truth about them.

London is a large place, built mostly of brick. At the station here we saw new fashions. Two ladies, with hats & black feathers & white feathers, & vails under their hats. before reaching Windsor marshy country road runs along by Lake St. Clair 20 miles. Passengers uninteresting. Three groups of foreigners, all weary, soiled, & travel worn just from the fadder land interested me more than any body else. Then there was a poor old colored man with whom I shared my fried cakes—an object of pity. Road rough, rattling, no comfort talking. Only acquaintance Ira Merrill of Buffalo. Saw a few redcoats of the 63^d Regiment. This was my first trip on the Grand Western R.R. Joseph met us at Windsor, a crowd of passengers. Crossed D. River to Milwaukee Depot. Very nice ferry boats. Walked to J's. office.

Ella there. pretty well. Went to Finney's Hotel (Temperance) tired enough. Retired immediately after supper.

Wednesday June 4th. 1862.

Bright, warmer. Hotel comfortable & convenient. Rose early. Started for Adrian at 9. Ella with us. Joseph & Kate A. went to depot with us. J. introduced us to Serg^t. A.M. Edwards who was also going to Adrian. He was taken prisoner at Bull Run & has just returned from Richmond, that is about 2 wks. ago. When the rebels learned that M^cClellan had reached the Pamunkey they sent several hundred prisoners north on parole not to fight till exchanged. They were afraid to keep them & Mr. E. said "if our army had reached Richmond the rebels would have had a fire in their rear." Mr. E. belonged to the 1st Mich. Reg^t. Col. Wilcox & the rebels have a particular spite against this Reg^t, because it was the first to "invade the sacred soil of Va. & they were treated particularly bad. Mr. E. was one of the 156 that were sent to Castle Pinckney as hostages for the pirates, & a gallows was erected in the

jail yard & they were told it was to hang them if any of the pirates at the North were hung. They were taken from Castle Pinckney to Charleston jail & were there when the fire was in C. They were then taken to Columbia, & then to R. again being told they were to be exchanged. They were in high hopes when word came that no more prisoners were to be exchanged. This was the 15th of February, & then they passed the wretched days till the 15th of May before they were released. 10 months in captivity. Found nothing noble, or generous, or humane among the Virginians. Received all sorts of indignities from people in Richmond, women & all. In the winter many of them had worn out their clothes & some had no blankets till the government sent them in January blankets, overcoats, coats, pants, underclothes, shoes, stockings, caps &c. Then they were happy. Knew that their government had not forgotten them. They seldom saw a Northern paper, & knew nothing that was going on at the North,

Mr. E. said he felt as if he was almost a year behind the intelligence of the age. Saw some Richmond papers. They were treated much better by the South Carolinians, & better at Richmond after the Battle at Fort Donelson. At Castle Pinckney they were put into the casemates, damp & cold. When they had been there six weeks half of them were in the hospital. Mr. E. was commissary for the prisoners. He dealt their rations & was employed by those who had a little money to go out & buy for them some necessaries, but a guard always went with him. In this way he had a chance to see & hear much of what was going on. Prisoners carved beefbones into various trinkets & visitors bought them & some who sympathized with them gave high prices for them. A negro & a wheelbarrow were used to convey his purchases. They called it the Wheelbarrow Express. Coffee \$1 a lb. Tea \$4 a lb. Salt \$40 a sack of 3 bushels. Sugar 20 or 30 cts. a lb. Molasses \$2.50 a gal. &c.

At Richmond sentinels fired into their prison several times. On one occasion one of the boys lay his head on the window sill & fell asleep. his head probably projected too far & the sentinel might have called to him. but as he lay there dreaming perhaps of the loved ones at home the sentinel fired. he was hit between his eyes & his brain was scattered over those near him. Poor fellow he never knew what killed him. At first they had enough to eat, but towards the last they had hardly enough to keep soul & body together. The rebels were on half rations themselves probably. Mr. E. says it was dreadful for the sick & wounded, but they were all shamefully treated.—A letter written by his mother in Sept. reached him in March. Of 14 letters he wrote when in Maine she received one—Just before they came away three of their number wished to go over to the rebels. I asked Mr. E. if it was true that they nearly killed him. He said they did pound him almost to death.

I asked him if he had a finger in the pie. Said he "I did not strike him, but I held the clothes of those that did."—The old pork packing warehouse is three stories, long narrow rooms windows only in the ends. On the first floor the officers are confined, & on each of the floors above there were about 200 privates. The waterpipes leaked, & sometimes the lower floors were flooded. It is too horrible to think of. I had read about many of these things & he confirmed them all. He has been editor of a Temperance Paper, is intelligent & interesting & it was a great satisfaction to talk with him. I was glad to hear all about these Richmond prisoners from one of their number.

Mr. E. says Mr. Ely was very unpopular among the prisoners. He was very selfish. He tried to curry favor with the rebels & spoke conciliatory words to them & they sent him many charities, but Mr. E. never shared them with his fellow prisoners.— Mr. Ely's journal is just published, but I do not think

very favorably of Mr. Ely. I think he sympathizes some with the rebels.

When they left Richmond they were sent down the James River. He says there are no batteries above Fort Darling & at certain points they were ordered below so that they might not see what was along the James River. Saw the Stars & Stripes on the Monitor, was the first time they had seen them in 10 months.—Mr. E. is recruiting a company & he was going to Adrian to hold a meeting. In the evening we went to Odd Fellows Hall to hear him speak. He read extracts from his journal to a crowded house. From this & my conversation with him I have gathered the above facts.

It makes these poor abused fellows terribly indignant to know that the rebel prisoners are shopping at the Michigan Exchange in D. & are treated to the best the city affords & are allowed to walk the streets at their leisure. And who can blame them for being very indignant? This day has been full of interest, an interesting chapter in my journey, but Cousin Eliza was not in Adrian this evening to hear Mr. E.

We reached Adrian, 75 miles S.W. of Detroit, 30 from Toledo, 210 from Chicago, about 11. Cousins Charles & Susan met us at the depot. Eliza went home with them & Ella & I went to Cousin Jonathan Lapham's. found them all well & they live in a very nice way. In the P.M. we called at Mr. Halsey's to see his cabinet of minerals & shells. Has a fine collection. Has very large & fine specimens in his door yard, he has spared no pains or expense to collect them. Some of them would weigh a ton I should think. Ella & I went to bed very tired.

Thursday June 5th

Adrian 6000 inhabitants 8 or 10 churches

This morning visited & wrote a letter. This P.M. took a long walk. Adrian has grown & improved very much since I was here in 1851. There are 4 schoolhouses, very fine, with stained glass windows & nice yards around them, & one large Union S. House. Fine 12 churches, & a College (Wesleyan Methodist) & several other fine buildings. It is lighted with gas too. Have had cucumbers & strawberries today,

They were brought from Cincinnati. All kinds of early fruits & vegetables are brought from C. to Adrian. War news. The fight on Saturday & Sunday was a serious one, our loss 3000. Many of the wounded from Richmond have arrived at N.Y. & Philadelphia. I am anxious to hear from Joe. He may be wounded, he may be killed. How anxious Mary must be till she hears. If he escaped she will hear from him soon, if otherwise she may never know his precise fate. How dreadful.

Gen. Hooker has reconnoitered within 4 miles of Richmond. Fremont is in pursuit of Jackson. Later – Jackson has escaped. Gen. Shields left a bridge for him to get away by instead of burning it. Pope has followed up Beauregard 30 miles from Florence. It is said Stanley has closed colored schools in Newbern. Sec. Stanton says he would not be a member for an hour of an administration that wd. sanction such an act. Pres. has ordered the schools reopened.

Cousin Charles came for Ella & I this evening. Had pleasant ride of 3 miles N.W. of Adrian.

Friday June 6th. Bright. warm.

Sewed a little. Took a walk to the school; Miss Knight teacher, where Ida goes. Good looking country about here. C. has good farm. Circus in Adrian today. Sights of people pass here. I cannot make it seem as if we were in Michigan.

Saturday. 7th, At Charles's.

Cool. Pleasant, read some. Cousin Elizabeth & Fanny came this P.M. at evening we came back to town with them. fine ride. Walked to P.O. & news room, bought N.Y. Tribune. Some particulars of battles at Fair Oaks & Seven Pines on the 31st. May & 1st. June. Our loss is nearly 7000. Enemy driven a mile by the bayonet, flood favored the rebels. Casey's division, some of them raw troops, were surprised & overpowered & they had to fall back 3½ miles, lost 19 guns & a great many men. Sunday Gen. Heintzelman & Kearney

divisions were in the thicket of the fight. Great credit given to 2^d Mich. Regt. & Berry's Brigade. They charged bayonets on the rebels & regained all the ground but a half mile that was lost the day before, 60,000 rebels attacked 5000 Yankees. Meant to kill part & drive the rest into the Chickahominy. Rebel loss estimated at 10,000. We were defeated on Saturday but obtained a victory on Sunday. The terrible & unusual rain storms have delayed the operations of our army & destroyed many of our stores. 1,000 wounded were sent to Fortress Monroe immediately. Long list of names in Tribune. Wish I cd. know whether Joe escaped. Must be patient till I can hear from Mary. Our forces within 4 miles of R. Jackson has retreated south & will go to R. probably. Emancipation bill has been voted a reconsideration by 84 to 65.

Beauregard's army retreating. Will go to R. probably. Memphis has surrendered to our troops. Battle at Chattanooga.

Battle at Cross Keys. Jackson loses 500, Fremont 125 killed. 500 wounded. Adrian June 8th. Cloudless.

In A.M. heard Mr. Baughman at the Methodist. Not particularly interested. In evening hear Mr. Powell at Plymouth Ch. Smart young man. Text. Tim. 2-3-4. "Lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." What amusements suitable for Christians, his opinions of Theaters, circuses &c.

In P.M. ride with Emma & Fanny to Mr. Waldenmin's. Then to the College. Emma drove cream & the drive was very pleasant. This morning a sick soldier from Yorktown called. he lives in Rome & J. took him home, a sharpshooter. been sick in hospital at Y. & at N.Y.

Monday June 9th, Bright, warmer

This A.M. Elizabeth drove us to Oakwood Cemetery, a very pleasant spot in bend of the River Raisin. Cousin E. has a little girl buried there. Then we drove to the old cemetery where Ella's little Freddy was buried 3 years ago.

The little grass grown grave is almost obliterated, & it took a mother to identify it. She is hoping to have the remains removed East to our family burying ground.

This P.M. went to Union school where Emma goes. 4 departments. Miss McOmber teacher in E's room. A fine convenient building. Went to Fanny's school too. Miss Thompson teacher. Several colored girls at the Union School. Towards evening drove around town and out to the Country house & College pleasant ride.— In evening went to Bidwell Hall to see the rehearsal for tomorrow evening.

Tuesday June 10th. Fine

Naval battle near Memphis. 7 rebel gunboats destroyed or taken. Fort Pillow evacuated June 4th. In P.M. E. & I went to Charles'. Susan & Eliza were not at home. They called on us when we came back.

In evening Elizabeth & Ella & I went to the Floral Concert at Bidwell Hall. Quite interesting. Mr. Perkins got it up.

Emma was one of the performers. She was a hollyhock, she sung one piece alone. Several colored girls among them. I heard nothing said about it however. The Queen was Isa Simons. There was not sufficient room for them, but hoops were dispensed with & they got along very well.

Wednesday June 11th. Fine.

Elizabeth, Fanny, Ella & I drove to Rome, 9 miles to Uncle Jacob Lapham's. He & Aunt Mary look much older than when I saw them 10 yrs. ago. He is 70 & Aunt M. is 71.— They both work some yet, & they were very glad to see us. Cousin Edmund was married a year ago to Alvira Case. She is in her 24th yr. & Ed. is about as old as I am. Felt very dull this P.M. Elizabeth & Fanny went back to Adrian.

Thursday June 12th, warm

Spent day at Cousin Ephraim's & had very pleasant visit with him & Emily his wife. They have two nice little girls Ella & Mary.

They have learned to read & spell on the Phonetic system. Ephraim & Emily are first rate anti slavery folks. All the rest of Uncle Jacobs family are very pro slavery. I think they are all spiritualists but Jonathan & Elizabeth.

Thunder shower this P.M.

Lonely, unpleasant place at Uncle J's. Did not see Cousin Nathaniel & wife.

Friday June 13th.

Staid at Uncle J's both nights & this morning said good bye to Uncle Jacob & Aunt Mary, & Cousin Ed. came with us to Adrian. Fine rain last night.— This may be the last

time I shall see Uncle & Aunt for it may be a long time before I come to Michigan again. & Uncle J. in particular looks very feeble.

In P.M. Cousins Eliza & Susan were at Jonathan's & I went home with them at night. Letter from Mary. Joe was not hurt in the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks.

In P.M. we all called at Mr. Halsey's to see his specimens. He gave me a lodestone & a piece of black mica from N. Jersey; & Susan two specimens of Grand Rapids gypsum. He has the finest shells I ever saw; some very rare ones & many other curiosities. I would like to spend a whole day in examining them.

Saturday June 14th.

This A.M. at Charles's. In P.M. Susan & Eliza came with me to Adrian & we all drove to Mr. Waldemin's. Mrs. W. not at home, so we took tea at Jonathan's. In evening called at P.O. & Auchenbach's store & at Mrs. Yagen's.—Cousin Eliza gone with Susan. I suppose I shall not see her till I get ready to go home.

Sunday June 15th. Adrian.

Rain last night, very fine today. Cool. Went with E. to hear Mr. Baughman again. He is down on Unitarians, "All the errors in Christendom came from denying the divinity of Christ," & more to the same effect.

Ella not well enough to go to meeting today. In P.M. went to College & heard Baccalaureate address by Pres. Mahan, Text. "Show Thyself a Man." He is anything but an agreeable speaker, or a good speaker, & the discourse was remarkable for nothing in particular. Had pleasant ride with Elizabeth. In evening Mr. Halsey called, brought me a Lake Superior agate & a specimen of the Liriodendron tulipifera. Mr. H. has been a pupil of Mary B. Allen when she taught in E. Henrietta. He says she must be 75 yrs. old & it seemed incredible to him that she is teaching yet. He was formerly from Chatham N.Y. He has a fine mind & is interesting in conversation.—

In evening went with E. to hear Mr. Duffield, Presbyterian, Text "Wo unto thee Chorazin" &c. He is an awkward speaker, but probably has talents for he is a son of Rev. Dr. Duffield of Detroit.—Almost cold enough for frost. Tomorrow we intend to go to Dundee to Wm. Penn's.

Monday June 16th.

Fine. Cool. Uncle Jacob called to say 'goodbye' once more. Packed trunk & intend to leave at 3 P.M. I have enjoyed this visit in Adrian & vicinity very much. Cousin Elizabeth having a horse and carriage at her disposal made it very pleasant for us. & I think it a great privilege to see my own dear Mother's friends & relatives. E. went to Depot with Ella & I & we took leave of her & Emma & went on the train for Petersburg. This is "The Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana R.R." We now began to realize that

even in Mich. it is about 20 miles to P. William Penn met us there in his lumber wagon & we rode 7 miles to his home in Dundee. Road very rough part of the way & Ella was very tired. William P. looks like an old man. he is quite thin, his front teeth are decayed & he looks broken down. He is quite well now but he cant do a hard day's work as he used to.

William lives in a lonely place, half a mile from a road, & we look into woods in every direction. Henrietta has changed some in 3 yrs. Her front teeth are gone & she looks much older. Florence is three yrs. old, she is a beautiful & interesting child. She resembles Freda more than any other child I ever saw. Could not help having a crying spell when I saw her. She is so much as my little darling was when she was taken from me. Where & how is she now? If I could only know! If she cd. only be with me now!

Dundee Tuesday 17th.

Cool. Pleasant. I felt miserable this A.M. and slept awhile. This P.M. worked some & took a walk through the woods & across fields with Ella & H. & Florence. All the while afraid of snakes. did not enjoy it.

This is the most retired spot that I ever spent a week in. A clearing bounded by woods! They go away & leave their house open

How can they live in such a hard, rough way? Perhaps I shall know if I stay long enough. William has been sick a great deal & cannot get any thing ahead. He has hired a small farm & if the crops turn out full he hopes to clear something this year. But it is a poor part of Michigan & very unhealthy too. The Macon River runs near them. It is almost entirely level about here. I wish he wd. make a desperate effort & get into a healthier place. The water on the place is fit for neither man nor beast to drink nor to use in any way.

Wednesday June 18th.

Fine. Cool. Served some & read a little. Ella has concluded to go to morrow & I am to stay a few days longer. If they can stay here a <u>year</u> I am sure I can stay a week. Lonely place, no papers, no news. Wm. takes no paper. They are 2 miles from D. village. There are neither sights nor sounds. The silence is almost oppressive.

Dundee. Thursday June 19th.

Cool. Fine. This morning William took Ella to Petersburg to take 10 °clock train for Blissfield & Henrietta, Florence & I rode as far as the village & then walked to Mr. Beemish's & took dinner. Saw Henrietta's sisters, Mother, &c. They came a few yrs. ago & cleaned up a farm & now live very comfortably. Dundee is an old village, that is, 30 yrs. old. It is a shabby & dilapidated place, a number of buildings unoccupied & falling down. A half dozen comfortable looking dwelling houses. Mail comes here twice a week. Little business done & nothing pleasant about the place nor in it. Two meeting houses. Very cool to night.

Dundee Friday June 20th.

Fine. Warmer. The day has worn away. This is Michigan in earnest. Have done some trifling work. I am observing how peon folks live. It seems to me now that I have at home every comfort & luxury that is desirable.

Dundee. Saturday June 21st.

Cloudy. Cool. Pretty long day, in more senses than one. No inducement to go out. Nothing interesting about the house inside or out. Been in the lane once for Florence who undertook to follow her father to Dundee. I have carried milk to the chickens twice & looked forth into the surrounding woods many times. & I feel devoutly thankful that my lines have fallen in pleasanter places. It seems to me that in such a place as this I should soon become more tired of life than I have ever yet have been before.

I pity William Penn & Henrietta, but it is not in my power to help them to any comforts. I wish father cd. do more for them. I am glad I came & glad I have staid through the week. They are better satisfied too.

Sunday June 22^d Cloudy.

This A.M. I went with Wm. Penn & Henrietta & Florence to Methodist Quarterly Meeting at D. Presiding El. Smith preached from John 12-26.

The Meeting house looks tolerably decent outside, but inside, oh! horrid. I never saw anything like it used for a place of worship. So dirty, walls broken, plastering falling off, no paint inside. Thick dirt on the floor, seats greasy & daubed with bread & butter & unctuous eatables by the small fry, of wh. a very large proportion of the meeting was made up. A tin pail & two bowls for drinking purposes near the pulpit. There were a pitcher & 2 tumblers for the wine & Florence "wanted a drink of that cider." The young men & maidens bring nosegays of roses, pinks & buttercups. Colored shaker hoods with curtains of extravagant dimensions were the predominating head gear. No wonder shakers are scarce in market. A few bonnets, such as are usually seen at church were sprinkled through the audience. When we entered the lovefeast was just finished & the finances were being discussed. The Elder thought it was a shame that in such

fine country, among so many rich farmers, that only \$150 had been raised in 9 months. He told them they sh. have a better church too. If it had been a log meeting house with the usual primitive surroundings, there might have been something of romance & inspiration about it. at least it might have been a hopeful scene. But this filthy dilap. place told of civilization relapsing into barbarism & it was painful & provoking to see some well dressed & respectable looking people there, who ought to be ashamed to keep such a house in their midst & call it a church.—

But there were no signs of thrift or improvement in the whole village. If the climate was really healthy & the soil productive, it would tell on surface of things. I did realize today that I am a long way from Western N.Y. Well, after meeting we went to Mr.

Beemish's & took dinner & then rode to Petersburg. Calling at Emmett Jones's, whose home looks some like the aforesaid church.

His wife Betsey is a professed novel reader & is as careless & untidy as any of that class can possibly be. A silly romantic creature neglecting even to care properly for their only child. Without any home comforts it is no wonder that her husband has become a perverse smoking rough man. Neatness, comfort & abundance were among his early associations. He may well be discouraged now. A wholesome lesson might be learned here.—

Petersburg Hotel. 7 P.M.

The ride here was pleasant. The road is nicer part of the way. On the oak openings in Summerfield we stopped & picked wintergreen. The Raisin is a pretty River in some places. Some fields of wheat are nearly destroyed by the insects. Soil good for potatoes & fruit. Henrietta, Wm. Penn & Florence have gone back & I am alone. Expect to take the train in the morning about 4 & start for Pine Run & hope to see Mary & Minnie before night.—[Transcriber's note: In different penmanship/pen, reads: "finished reading this Oct-26-1903"]

Sunday June 22^d. 1862.—

³Diary

Monday June 23^d 1862.

On the way from Petersburg to Pine Run. Last night Thunder Shower. This morning rainy. Since then very pleasant & comfortable.

Awoke at 2 & cd. not sleep again. Got up at 3 & made myself ready for start. Then woke the house & had my trunk taken to depot in rain. Few people to be seen. P. is a small village. grown up since '51. Few passengers on train. Ida, a few houses in the mud. Crops look poor, mud & water. Nothing pleasant till we get to Monroe, which is a large village. old French town. I noticed Trenton & Wyandotte, the latter has furnaces. Joseph met me at depot in Detroit.

Sergeant Edwards in the cars & had a brief talk with him. Left D. at half past 8.— Pontiac & the country around is beautiful. Holly is quite a village now, it had just started when I was in Mich 5 yrs. ago.

Train stopped at Fentonville 49 miles from Detroit. Here we took stage, which seemed a slow process of getting along. It is 16 miles to Flint. Then stage again 6 miles to Mt. Morris. then cars about 5 miles to Pine Run Station. The country from Pontiac to Pine Run is nice. All through Genesee Co. the wheat looks fine. The fields look as they used to

³ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26054_001 to HC13-26054_096 in their Folder entitled Jun. 23rd 1862 to Aug. 28th, 1862.

in Rush & Avon several yrs. ago. Corn is backward every where. The land is rolling & pretty good buildings. good plank road. Flint has grown considerably. Left Flint at half past 1 P.M. Pleasant folks in stage. Every body talks about Saginaw now. Every thing new at Pine Run Station wh. is a mile from the village. Cars have only run to this place since last winter.

No public conveyance here, but they told me there was a light load of lumber going to the village & I cd. ride on it or wait till evening when the omnibus wd. come.

Of course I chose to go at once. My trunk was placed upon the load, & I was seated upon the trunk & with my 3 story 'Bull Run' bonnet I must have loomed up majestically upon the horizon of "the Run". It was a fine position for observation & I discovered that Pine Run has improved very much in 5 yrs. There were 4 passengers besides myself & one was a school marm in a bright yellow dress. The sun was shining brightly & every thing looked pleasant. Found Mary & her children well, & impatiently expecting my arrival. Minnie has grown considerably. Stewart is a nice baby & I think I shall have to like him. M. had letter from Joe today. He has to do picket duty in exposed places.

Tuesday June 24th. Windy.

Slept till late. I was so tired & fagged out. Have written to Frances & done a few chores. Mary has another letter from Joe enclosing

several Secesh letters taken from battle field of 7 Pines, the kind we see in the papers. We have been much amused in reading them. When the 2^d Mich. drove the rebels through the woods, the rebels threw away every thing they had & Joe took these letters from a knapsack. When he wrote he was picketing on the ground where Casey's division was surprised. When Gen. Kearney wants scouting done he comes to this Reg^t for volunteers. It has the credit of being one of the best regiments. It was very hot then & many were sick. Of the 97 men that left Detroit in his co. only about 35 are left fit for duty. Joe thinks some of them play sick in order to be sent into the rear.

Have tended baby till I am tired. 'Aunty Knapp' called this evening. Wednesday 25th.

Warm & bright; Finished my Mozambique dress. Wrote to Cousin Eliza, tended baby &c. Read Detroit Tribune. No encouraging

news. Jackson has been reinforced & Fremont & Banks are in danger. Washington is threatened again. Battle on James Island near Charleston. Great loss on both sides. We gained nothing.

M^cClellan & other Generals are busy guarding the property of the Rebels & leave the loyal folks to take care of themselves. Our soldiers complain bitterly of this. Capt. Doubleday quartered himself in the house of a notorious rebel who has 3 sons in the rebel army, but Gen. M^cDowell ordered him out & set a guard to protect the house. The

Louisville Journal says 'It is a wise thing for the rebels to leave the southern states & go to Richmond to fight our troops, for they know if the Federal forces occupy their country all the property of the rebels will be protected." It is a shame that our government will allow men in arms against the government to be treated so tenderly, while our soldiers are suffering so, & Northern men are paying the expenses

of the war. M^cClellan, Halleck, &c evidently mean to carry on the war so that slavery shall not suffer, & their political interests shall receive no detriment. The votes of slaveholders will be wanted by & by. Wm. Penn says "he would not fight in such a war." & I do not blame him when it is evident that both sides are determined to save slavery if every thing else goes by the board. Our late reverses are the best things that could happen to us probably, for we don't deserve success if our main object is to save slavery from detriment.

Whipperwills, frogs & cowbells are the evening music here instead of pianos & guitars.

Thursday 26th.

Bright & warm. Fixed Mary's bonnet. Called at H. VanB's M'Clellan has advanced his pickets half a mile further. Enemy resisted his advances.

He says he has Kearney's & Hooker's division where he wants them. Says "This was not a battle but an affair of Heinzelman's." loss small. important advantage to us." Expect a general battle in a day or two. Beauregard's army has joined the Richmond army. Halleck could not catch him nor find him! Great victory for Halleck!! Tax bill has passed.

Friday 27th.

Warm. Bright. Dull enough. Mrs. H. Van B. dined with us. Fixed dress for Mary. Feel lonely and dispirited today. No particular news.

Saturday 28th.

Cloudy. Hot. Fixed dress for Mary. Took tea with Mrs. Knapp. Other company present. Did not enjoy it much, wish I cd. accommodate myself to circumstances, but it is a physical impossibility at times. The 8th Michigan was in the battle of James Island on the [Transcriber's note: blank space left] & only 240 of them are left.

Several of this regiment went from this place, & their friends are very much concerned. Our troops were repulsed & lost 1200. Gen. Benham made the attack against the orders of Gen. Thurston & recklessly sacrificed the lives of these hundreds of brave men. What punishment is severe enough for such an officer. He has been sent to N.Y.

Sunday 29th.

Very warm. Mary went to meeting & I took care of children. In P.M. Mrs. Van B. called. Mary & Minnie went to walk & I took care of baby again.

Fremont has resigned his command because the position assigned him by the appointment of Maj. Gen. Pope as Com. in Chief of the Army of Va. is subordinate & inferior to those heretofore held by him, & to remain in the subordinate command now assigned would largely reduce his rank & consideration in the

service. I am sorry he has done so, but I presume he knows what he is about. & can justify himself no doubt. But it gives his enemies a chance to blame him.

President has just been to N.Y. & to West Point to see Gen. Scott. Wonder what is up now? We shall see if we wait long enough. He says "his object was not to make or unmake Generals." McClellan has issued Gen. Order No. 136. "The extra issue of whiskey heretofore ordered will be immediately discontinued hot coffee to be served to the troops immediately after reveille."

It is said Gen. Hunter ordered the negro brigade to James Island, but several officers refused to accompany it & the project was abandoned. Two surgeons have been sent home for refusing to act in negro regiments. I do say as long as our government upholds such things we do not deserve success. It is shameful to have our brave men sacrificed to such wicked, negro-hating,

pro-slavery prejudice. If all these senseless, infatuated officers could be got rid of we might then succeed.

The property of rebels is protected whenever M^cClellan's army marches & our federal soldiers are made to guard the houses of the secesh gentry who hesitate not to shoot our men whenever they can.

White House. Gen. Lee's place, is empty & guarded & not allowed to be used for hospital purposes, while our sick & wounded in the vicinity are needing shelter.

Have written to Cornelia & Kate. How I would like to hear from home.

Monday.

Fine. Cool. Helped wash & ironed. So tired to night am almost sick. Took care of baby while Mary went out.

Paper from home, all well. Mary has letters from Joe & Frances. Joe is 1½ miles to the left of ground that Casey occupied. Siege of Richmond has begun.

F. writes that Mrs. Hartwell has had fit of apoplexy & is not expected to live. I dreamed of Freda last night. Had her in my arms & talked with her. She looked pale & thin & pitiful, but she had not forgotten 'Aunty.' getting ready to go to Flint to-morrow. Bill to Emancipate slaves of rebels has passed the House. Mr. Sumner has great confidence in President.

Tuesday July 1st.

Bright. Cool. Rose early. & after ordeal of fixing & waiting & extra efforts started for Flint at 9 A.M. Went to the Asylum for the Deaf & Dumb & Blind. This is a State

Institution. & the finest establishment of the kind that I ever saw. It is an immense pile of buildings, but not yet completed. Some of them, 4 & five stories. There is a tower & 7 glittering domes which rise above the green woods that surround them, & the effect is really magnificent. I was not aware before that Michigan

was so munificent in her charities. There are 80 pupils at present. 17 of these are blind. There are none under 10 & there is a large proportion of young men & young women. Amelia Stevens is entirely blind. She is an acquaintance of Mary's & is an intelligent young lady. She teaches music, & she & a blind boy of 14 played Dixie & Yankee doodle for us. I cannot see how they learn music. In the blind room we saw their books, the Bible, a Dictionary, a Cyclopedia & a few others. A map of the U.S.A. wh. is a very ingenious thing. Miss Stearns found the plans very readily that I mentioned. They have slates & a sort of types[?] with which they learn arithmetic. These are really curious. Whoever invented such things is entitled to the thanks of mankind at large. —To make the situation of such unfortunates more tolerable is truly philan-

thropic & Christ-like work. Baby went with Mary & I & Miss S. introduced him to the scholars as <u>Damon Stewart</u>. This pleased them very much for they all know Damon Stewart whose home is in Flint. He was wounded in the Battle of Williamsburg & is now at home.

Miss S. took care of Stewart while we visited the deaf room, where a large class was being taught writing, Arithmetic &c. The teacher Mr. Angus is deaf, but can talk a little. The pupils were mostly young men & women, bright looking & apparently as eager to learn as anybody. They wrote nicely, & performed an example in Long Division. They all wrote sentences at the request of Mr. Angus. One wrote "Miss Stearns conducted those ladies into the room to see us write. I think they are her friends." Another wrote "Blind Stearns led these ladies into our room to see

us. They are her friends. No two wrote precisely alike, but nearly all were correct. I asked them "where is Rochester? Some of them wrote at once, "In the Northern part of the state of N.Y. I think these ladies are from Rochester. It was nearly noon & the pupils were dismissed to dinner so we cd. see no more of the schools. After dinner we saw them at play but there was no sound of merry voices. It seemed as unnatural as it would to be in the woods where there were plenty of birds but no singing. We were much pleased with our visit. This a mile from Flint. We left about 1 P.M. & drove to the Carlton House where we left baby asleep, did a little shopping & then had a very pleasant drive home. The road from Pine Run to Flint is remarkably pleasant. We hear that fighting is going on in Richmond.

Mary & baby are pretty tired to night.

Pine Run Wednesday July 2^d.

Shower. Wrote to Joe. sewed some. Fighting near R. on the 26th. & 27th. M^cClellan has moved his army nearer James River. There are 2 opinions as to the wisdom of this move. Democrat admirers of M^cC. do not like to admit that he has been foiled in his plans or that M^cC. has made a mistake. Democratic hopes are down on Fremont. No Gen. has been so much maligned & abused for so little cause. From the first the Dem. Press has steadily pursued him with industrious malice. The entire regular army has been pitted against him as it is now against Sigel & Banks. They are not graduates of W. Point. And now just as soon as Fremont's place has become of importance & he has a chance to distinguish himself, Maj. Gen. Pope has an appointment over three Maj. Generals, his superiors in rank. This

is very singular because military rank has always been respected. Naturally this place wd. have fallen to Fremont & it is not singular that he sh. construe it into a personal indignity. Fair minded men will excuse Fremont which they regret he has taken this course. But I am sure he has sufficient reasons for doing as he has done.

Since writing the above the following has come under my notice, "Fremont is a Maj. Gen. in the regular army. While in the Western Department Brig. Gen. Pope served under him. On one occasion Pope delayed to bring forward troops & Fremont cd. not carry out certain plans & Pope incurred his displeasure. Pope manifested his dislike of Fremont, his views & his policy. When Banks was compelled to retreat, Fremont was ordered to pursue Jackson. How well he did it is a matter of history. The failure of Shields to burn a bridge enabled Jackson to escape & defeated Fremont's

further victory. He effected a junction with Banks & Sigel. As senior office by military law Fremont was now in command of the entire corps. But Sec. Stanton telegraphed to F. that he had nothing to do with the other commands. Sigel & Banks were both ready & willing to act under him. But at this crisis, Pope, a junior officer was placed over him. Pope is a pro-slavery man, a personal enemy of F., a rebuked subordinate, & he is placed over F. & S. & Banks! Fremont cd. with no self respect remain at this post. Lincoln has lately expressed himself in Fremont's praise." But we shall see what we shall see. July 3^d.

Very warm. Martial music & occasional firing remind us that the 4th is not far off. Mary has letter from Joe written the 21st. No particular news. I have made baby a frock, have wrote to

Mary Julia & read N.Y. Tribune. Report of E.M. Pierce to Sec. Chase is very interesting. He has left Port Royal, affairs then have passed from the Treasury to the War Department. Satisfactory state of things there. Have accomplished all we cd. expect. Some 3000 blacks have been taught. I am afraid things will not prosper as well after this. —A deputation of Progressive Friends both[?] a memorial in behalf of Emancipation has waited upon the President. They had a satisfactory interview. McClellan has sent Mrs. Gen. Lee to Richmond with an escort of troops, & immediately after the rebels made a raid upon our army. Our loss was considerable, in stores, R.R. train & prisoners.—

Pine Run July 4th. 1862 Friday, bright. hot.

No doings here. Nearly all the people have gone away to Tuscola & other places. Read Tribune of July 1st, account of the battles of Thursday, Friday, & Saturday.

Thursday at Mechanicsville, right wing was engaged. Some loss no material advantage on either side.

Friday terrible bloody battle. Our loss 4000. Odds against us.

Saturday we had advantage. Right wing is moving towards the James River. White House abandoned as a base of operations. Nearly all the stores safely removed. A few together with the White House owned by Gen. Lee were burned. Left wing has advanced to James River. Burnside is to cooperate with gun boats, Supplies &c. within 15 miles of Richmond.

One year ago today I was at [Transcriber's note: blank space left]

July 5th. hot.

Terrible accounts of 6 days fighting at R. Mary feels bad enough. 2 wks since Joe's letter was written. Our loss said to be 15000 or 20,000. Mary has reason for apprehension.

President has called for 300,000 more troops —Portion of left wing under M^cClellan's immediate command was overpowered by numbers & compelled to retreat 17 miles towards James River. Here the enemy were in return repulsed by the gun boats with great Slaughter. Our siege guns had to be spiked & abandoned, our wounded & sick were left in the hands of the enemy with our own surgeons. Stonewall Jackson reported killed. It will be a week or more before we get correct accounts. There seems to be a vast number of men in the Rebel army. Our army has been reinforced too. Do we deserve success if we any longer refuse the help of loyal black men?

So warm I cannot sew this P.M. Miss Johnson & Mrs. Frost called. No mail came this P.M. Folks are disappointed. I do wish we cd. hear from Joe. I very much fear that some evil has befallen him.

Pine Run, July 6th. Sunday

Hottest day yet. Cd. not go to church. Showers all around us. Never suffered more from heat I think. Mrs. H. Van B. called. Wrote to father & to Ella. Never felt less like doing anything, & Mary feels nearly sick.

Monday 7th.

Cooler. Washed & sewed. About noon had heavy Thunder shower. rain in P.M. As primitive & low lived a group as I ever saw passed here today in the rain. An Indian, a squaw, & 3 children. A squaw bareheaded with a baby on her back. A small boy & a dog. A queer specimen of a horse loaded with various traps in the midst of which appeared the head of another boy, an Indian & a large dog brought up the rear. Oh! what specimens of humanity. No letter from Joe yet. Mary is so disappointed again.

Tuesday 8th. July.—

Very hot. Could not work this P.M. Ironed & sewed some. Mrs. Knapp here. Read account of the 6 days fighting. McClellan's army has passed a terrible ordeal.

²⁶ Thursday battle at Mechanicsville no particular advantage gained on either side. We fell back. Our loss 300 or 400. Gen. Sherman's forces & M^cCall's division were engaged.

²⁷ <u>Friday</u> at Gaines Hill. We fell back. Our loss 4500. Our forces number 30,000, the rebels 70,000. Gen. Porter & Gen. Sykes engaged. The fighting was terrible. There were showers of Minne balls, & bayonet charges by our troops. But the enemy wd. come on with increased numbers, & we were obliged to retreat. Many officers killed. Our killed & wounded left on the field.

²⁸ <u>Saturday</u> retreat towards James R. fighting as they went, across the Chickahominy. At Fair Oaks great amt. of stores destroyed, & several hundred of our wounded were left in the hands of the enemy.

Rebels attacked the rear, severe fighting. Rebels driven back. Our retreat continued. ²⁹ <u>Sunday</u> retreat through White Oak swamp. In morning works in front evacuated. Many stores burnt. White House evacuated & burnt.

Monday, battle of White Oak Swamp lasted 10 hrs, 3/5 of our army was engaged. our loss 600. Rebels fought desperately. Heintzelman had charge of the rear. Keyes in advance. Rebels attacked both wings. & then our rear. Sedgwick, Hooker & Kearney & McCall fought nobly. Many officers fell. Now or never was the army to be saved. The enemy was defeated at last, by aid of gun boats.

^{1st} <u>Tuesday</u> Battle of Malvern Hill lasted from 5 A.M. till 9 P.M. Chiefly an Artillery fight. desperate fighting on both sides. Rebels defeated in every action, heavy losses on both sides. It is said we had 30000 against 90000 rebels. Gen. Porter prepared the hill for defense.

It is said the rebels were mad with drink. They staggered up to our guns & were cut down by hundreds; Hooker's Division west the Peninsula 11000 strong. Now can number only 5000. Our forces have not been beaten in any conflict. Our loss probably 15000. Rebel loss still greater. Their force double ours. We took 700 prisoners. Might have held many more had we had sufficient force to guard them. Our side lost guns & ground & was compelled to destroy a large amount of munitions & provisions. But the result of the fighting was against us only on one day, Friday, while the last two days were in our favor—no valuable articles fell into the enemy's hands. What we cd. not take was destroyed. But our position is a strong one now. White Oak Swamp flanks it on the right, the James R. & gun boats on left. M°Clellan is fortifying the position & receiving reinforcements. He has "changed his base" it is true & it is called a masterly retreat. It has perhaps saved the Potomac Army from annihilation, but at a fearful cost, & now they must contend with sickness until they can get away.

Wednesday July 9th. 1862.

Cooler. Sewed on Mary's dress, & wrote some. Mary is quite unwell. Calls this evening. Bad dreams about home last night.

No letter from Joe yet. We have reason now to apprehend evil. It is 18 days since his last letter was written; & there has been time enough since the 30th ult. for a letter to reach here.

Thursday July 10th.

Cool & pleasant. Finished Mary's mohair dress. Spent P.M. at Mrs. Bradley's. Her husband and Joe have been together all the time & she does not hear from him either. I fear they have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Many of our dead & wounded were left on the field, & many were taken prisoners. They refuse to receive a flag of truce that we may care for our men. They wish to keep us ignorant of their own situation.

& will not admit within their lines any of our messengers.—No particular movements for a few days past. It is now thought our loss will not exceed 10000. They are sent to Fortress Monroe as fast as possible & from thence to Phil^a. & N.Y. Lists of killed & wounded appear in the papers. Nothing in particular said of the 2^d Michigan.—It is said Burnside has arrived in James R. to cooperate with M^cClellan. Our gun boats & supplies are there. & Harrison's landing is now the base of operations.

Vicksburg has been shelled to the ground. The fleets of Davis & Farragut have met, & the Mississippi is open from its source to the gulf. Bands of guerillas infest all the south western states. The Dem. Press is howling over the disasters near Richmond, & laying it all to the abolitionists. This includes the administration & the Republican Party.

Democrats held meeting in N.Y. F. Wood presided, denounced the President & all Anti Slavery action, & lauded McClellan to the skies. They talk treason very boldly, "demand

a change of measures or a change of men." Herald trying to influence the worst passions, & prejudices of the populace. Detroit Free Press & others echo the Heralds opinions. They are trying to discourage enlistments; they have grown bold of late & mean to defy the Union feeling at the North.

Call themselves conservatives, are opposed to Emancipation & Confiscation. They commend the President for revoking the proclamations of abolition Generals. They thank McClellan & Halleck particularly. Burden of the meeting abuse of abolitionists. Ex. Gov. Wickliffe of Ky. said "that unless abolitionists laid down their pens there might be another revolution." Wm. A. Duer[?] of this state said "if every traitor were hung in order of their guilt, the next man who marched to the gallows

after Jefferson Davis wd. be Charles Sumner." This was greeted with loud applause. Pine Run. July 11th. Friday.

Fine. hot.—Circus came from Flint this morning. About 10 A.M. went with Mary & the children over to the Vienna[?] Hotel to the see the folks. & from the upper piazza we had a good view of the arrivals. & of various the proceedings. There was a tent where was exhibited a horse with 5 legs & a horse with two legs & no shoulders & a horse with a hump on his back &c. There was another tent where was a horse 4 yrs. old weighing only 27 lbs. & A.J. Davis, a man without arms & no knee joints. When the circus began, Mr. D's performance ceased & I then went in & talked with him. He was very sociable. He gave me some of his writing. Very fine hand? Though written with his toes. He does many interesting things with his toes. He is a mulatto

born in Delaware, his home is in Champlain N.Y.—He says he has made himself well off. Barnum wd. give him but \$15 a month. Now he makes \$10 & \$12 a day. It is a sight to see the folks that come in from the surrounding country. Whole families including grandparents & infants, the children were numberless. Some came on foot in squads of a dozen or 15. In one lumber wagon I counted 15 persons. There was one wagon without a box wh. had a long reach, & was full of men & gaily dressed women with their feet hanging down as they do in an Irish cast. One wagon had tamarack trees all around it & the folks within looked very rural in their extemporized portable grove. All the fashions of the last 10 yrs. were assembled here. I never saw such a collection before.—

H. Van B. & wife were going to see the performance in the P.M. & they invited Mary & I & as it was so nearly under foot we stopped in to it,

The first time I ever went to a Circus, & I presume it will be the last. It was well conducted, & very orderly, & I suppose first rate for the kind. But the surroundings were low, & those who were engaged in it probably were rough fellows & coarse women. It is "Robinson & Co's Circus. There are 50 or 60 persons attached to it. The Gymnastic feats were very wonderful to me, so was the balancing, & so was the riding.

Seymour & Costello did the balancing. The former balanced a man in a chair on a pole 20 feet long, it was startling stood on his head. Chair perch[?] Costello balanced plates & washbowl, & with his feet balance a large ball, dancing & keeping time with the music! J. Robinson is the great hurdle rider. Thomas Armstrong turned a double somersalt in the air.

Luke Rivers walked on a globe up & down an inclined plane, with a

about 8 yrs. old on his head.

Luke Rivers & Anna Robinson 8 yrs. old, rode two horses side by side, danced on them & cut up all manner of capers. They also rode one horse, she wd. stand on one foot on his shoulder, & she also stood on his head & the horse on a swift run. But they lost their balance once when she was standing on his shoulder, & they came down from the horse, the girl into the dirt; but they seemed to fall softly, got up instantly, & mounted the horse again. They jumped over six horses turning somersets as they did so. Anna R. danced on a slack wire. She also rode alone. When the horse was at full speed she wd. dance, jump the rope, stand on one foot & do various things.—the clown was very clever, & he was one of the best gymnasts, he occupied the chair perch, standing on his head in the chair, hanging by one foot, &c. &c. —Two men in a swing performed

almost incredible feats. There were ponies & the comic mule &c &c. The horses were mostly white or grey.

The clown did some things admirably, rode in the go-cart, ran away & if they had dispensed with the coarse talk, & vulgar allusions, it would all have been very well as showing how how much horses can be taught. & to what extent human muscles can be developed, & what agility & dexterity can be acquired by practice.

Minnie enjoyed it as much as any body & was crazy to ride. baby didn't go. We came back about 5 P.M. very tired.

Mary has letter from Joe written the 26th, June, the day of the first[?] battle. He was on picket, wh. saved him from the fight.—He was half a mile from where they were fighting. & cd. hear it but not see much of it—

Pine Run July 12th.

Fine. cooler. Spent most of the day in tucking baby's skirts. Ladies called. Mary had letter from Joe written the 28th, Saturday. When he wrote there was a lull in the sound of musketry, but for 4 days there had been continual firing. He only knew there had been fighting going on. The result he did not know. He had not been in it. We are just as anxious to hear again. His company was deployed as skirmishers. for that reason he was not in those battles.—

Sunday July 13th.

Cloudy. hot. Slept till late, took us till 2 p.m. to get cleaned up. feel better since. The circus came back from Saginaw & stopped here for several hours. The streets do not look much like Sunday. A smoking, drinking, loafing set, one woman with them. The rest went on to Flint in the night probably. I think if I were

one of such a set I wd. travel under cover of darkness.

Yesterday it was 132 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me. If I cd. devote my life to her it wd. seem an object worth living for. but I am so lonely. I have been here 3 weeks. & aside from Mary I have not seen a person that I care two cents for. It is hard work to play the agreeable so long, & I think I do not play my part very well. Well, I can't help it.—

Sunday evening.

About 5 o'clock called at Mrs. Knapp's & took a walk with Mary, Minnie & Stewart. Cool & comfortable this P.M. Read Tribune. President has returned to W. from his trip to M^cClellan's headquarters, & reports himself satisfied with the aspect of things. Our loss in the late battle will not amount to more than 11000 all told. Democrats trying to remove Sec. Stanton. I hope they will not succeed.

It is said the rebels are encamped all the way from Malvern Hill to Richmond. Stonewall Jackson said to be on L. side of James R. M^cClellan's has his army now now on the elevated ground near James R. a very desirable place; has left the swamps of the Chickahominy for the rebels to occupy. It is the most unhealthy place in Va. where our army has been encamped since they left Yorktown.

July 14th. Monday

Very hot.—Washed & did various chores. Very tired tonight. Wrote to Wm. Penn. Mary has letter from Joe written since the battles. He was in the battles of Sunday, Monday & Tuesday, the 29th. & 30th. of June & 1st. of July, & came out all safe. Now Mary feels better.—

The retreat commenced Sunday morning. Their knapsacks were back in the rear & were burned. Joe lost his valuables. He says it did grind them terribly to have to leave their position. He says they don't

know much only what they see themselves. They left Seven Pines Sunday morning. They, the 2^d Mich., remained as pickets in the rear of the whole division until noon, when the enemy came out in force, & we left our artillery, giving them a parting salute. They marched 5 miles & crossed White Oak Swamp but found the enemy there to meet them & they began to think they were done for. But Kearney ordered about face, & they marched back & went down two miles to the next ford & finding all quiet dropped down for the night. They were nearly exhausted, for they had had no regular sleep for a week & the day was very hot. Next day they moved about a mile & at noon the enemy came upon

them in force. This was Monday June 30th. [Transcriber's note: Following sentence added vertically up the page] This was the day Van got sun stroke. They fell back again 2 miles to a position prepared by Kearney & Heinzelman & in an hour the ball commenced. It was the most scientific battle

he has ever seen. It lasted till 10 P.M. & they held their position. The enemy cd. not get any artillery into position & ours did great execution. He knows they must have lost five to our one. His regt. lost 2 killed & 11 wounded. They lay on the line till midnight & then took up their march for James R. At sunrise they reached an elevated position near the River.

This was Tuesday, July 1st. The enemy came & were beaten again. (This was when the gun boats did such execution). He says in the night they skedaddled <u>somewhere</u>, where they are now, near a landing on James R. The enemy followed & opened on us again but they were soon repulsed & since the evening of the 3^d. every thing had been quiet. On the 4th, Gen. M^cC. visited the camps. The retreat was a masterly one, retired in perfect order. He calls Mac a good General yet. On Tuesday the 2^d. Regt. lost 6 men by a shell from the enemy. When he thinks what he has been through his escape seems miraculous.

Tuesday July 15th.

Windy. Cooler. Ironed all the A.M. Wrote to Frances & sewed. Mary & children went out for an hour or two & I was all alone & it seemed so still that I was quite lonely. The rebel force has withdrawn from the front of our army before Richmond. They will probably be heard of further North soon.—A rebel raid in Missouri, Murfreesboro Tenn, captured by the rebels & also some Michigan men.—

An attack on Nashville expected. It is said that M^cClellan has sent to Burnside for 500 negro laborers. The Richmond Dispatch says that "M^cClellan has secured the safety of his army in a masterly manner, & that he has obtained great advantages by the removal of his base of operations. The Detroit Tribune says of McClellan, "That it will not be denied now that he is a man of thorough military education & much skill & capacity. He must have

gone to the wall before this were it not so.

His services in organizing the army will not be forgotten. His delay before Manassas was distasteful to the country, & we think mistaken policy.—The escape of the rebels from M. is something to be explained but not defended.—The occupation of Yorktown we conceive to be a lamentable mistake. But once on the Peninsula Gen. M°C. made splendid preparations to dislodge the enemy. But the battles of Williamsburg & W. Point evinced no high order of military skill & that they were decided successes we do not believe. Taking all the recent battles into consideration, & the long sojourns in the Chickahominy Swamp, now confessed to be a malarious & unmilitary position, we feel

sure that history will not call it a success. By removing his army Gen. M^cC. has probably saved it & put it in a position for future victories." These remarks were called forth on account of the debate in the Senate

on Mr. Chandler's resolution calling for certain documents & facts in relation to the Government with McClellan.

Democrats tell the people that the administration is to blame for the recent disasters to our arms, & that it has overruled M°C's plans &c. & that reinforcements were withheld from him on account of personal hostility to him &c.—It is right that the people sh. know the facts as they are. M°C. is in a responsible position & it is natural & right that the people sh. sanction[?] his actions. But his friends have been foolishly sensitive to criticism.

Some of the Democratic organs wh. lately set out to control the administration by threats & denunciations have quailed before the rising spirit of the loyal masses. People are aroused. War meetings are held again, & enlistments are going on rapidly. Things look discouraging in the west. Gen. Halleck seems to be asleep.

Pine Run July 16th. Cool.—

Sewed most all day. Called at Mr. Cole's. Letter from Cousin Eliza. I fear she is lonesome & will get homesick. The time is going off so fast that I must stir about & get something done.—Chicago Times says "If we cannot put down this rebellion without the help of negros as soldiers, we will hang our heads in shame & confusion, & the rebellion shall live." It also proposes Gen. Halleck as Sec. of War. The Democrats are down on Stanton because they can't make a tool of him, & demand his removal.

Baton Rouge has been recaptured by the rebels & 1500 Federal prisoners taken. Bombardment of Vicksburg continues.

The President has submitted to Congress a brief message enclosing a draft of a bill to compensate any State wh. may abolish Slavery within its limits, & recommends its passage.—He will come up to the point yet! Gov. Yates of Ill. proposes to the Pres. to accept the <u>services of all loyal men</u>. If they wd. only do it at once. It may be put off too long.

Friday, July 18th.

Cloudy. hot. In A.M. sewed. In P.M. visited at Dr. Mulholland's.—A dozen or more ladies there. Yesterday was cooler. Sewed most all day. Called on Mrs. Allby & Mrs. Van B.—The President will return the Confiscation Bill to Congress. he will propose alterations.—All quiet before Richmond. Citizens meeting in Detroit broken up by a mob. Pro-Slavery democrats trying to prevent enlistments.

Mary has two letters from Joe; written up to July 10th.—The hot weather there affects him. Smoke from camp fire makes his eyes sore. In the retreat the cook lost all their cooking utensils, & now each one has to cook the best way he can, pork, hard bread & coffee is all.—He does not write quite as cheerfully as he has done heretofore. He is not eager for another battle, but he thinks affairs progress slowly. Saw the President when he visited the army a few days since.—Hot weather has a depressing affect on the army.

Correspondence of D. Tribune says the 2^d & 3^d & 5th regiments have been consolidated, & this does not make out a whole regiment, only one field officer left fit for duty, all the rest sick or wounded. When any thing is to be done the Michigan men have to do it; & if they are worked so hard much longer they will not be able to kill a flea. They are willing to do any thing in the bounds of reason, but they don't like to be used up so. The officers have petitioned Gov. Blair to see to it that the Mich. men are fairly used. On the retreat they had to protect the rear & came in the greatest danger; then as soon as there was danger of an attack on front they were ordered there, & while these men were ordered from front to rear & from rear to front at double quick, the men from other states walked leisurely along.—It is said that many of the officers are tired of the <u>strategy</u>, wh. consists altogether in digging in the earth & making trenches—as they have done for a year past, & then when they have to fight have to do it outside the trenches.

Pine Run Saturday July 19th.

Very hot, Shower in P.M.—

Sewed & did various chores. Read N.Y. Tribune Description of Harrison Landing &vicinity.—

Congress adjourned July 17th.—Has appropriated nearly \$800,000,000—of this \$560,000,000 is for the army, & 100,000,000 for navy.—President has approved the Confiscation Act. It does not touch the persons & property of loyal citizens. It is startling to say that Congress can free the Slaves of a State, but as the rebels forfeit their slaves to the government, it has only to declare whether they shall be declared free or returned to Slavery. He has no objection to the former. Thinks it wd. be physically impossible for Government to return them to Slavery. Rebel property sh. pay cost of war. Thinks it proper for Military Commanders to employ as many persons of African descent as can be used to advantage.—&c., &c. Well, this is a long step since last July.

Congress has not provided for admission of Western Virginia, nor has it appropriated

\$200,000,000 for border Slave state emancipation & for colonization purposes.— The main force of the rebel army 15 miles from our lines—Another raid into the Shenandoah Valley to be feared. Great war meeting in N.Y. 50000 people assembled.—It is now known from report of asst. Sec. War that prior to 15th. Apr. 120000 men were sent to McClellan, afterwards Franklin's division of 12000, McCall's division 10000, &

11000 from Baltimore & Fortress Monroe & Shields division 5000 making 158000 sent to McC. before the late battles near Richmond. Before these battles Gen. McC. wrote to President thanking him for sending McCall's division & saying he had men enough to take Richmond. I should think it is time to stop blaming the Sec. of War. & the Pres. now for not sending reinforcements to M'Clellan.—

Sunday July 20th. 1862.

Quite cool. Cloudy. At two P.M. went to church. Mr. Belknap preacher. Methodist. It was a funeral sermon for a young man

that was killed in battle on James Island, S.C. Small, plain house, needing repairs, people very common looking. Mary took both children, baby behaved very well, Wrote to Cousins E. Lapham & E. Wilbur & C. Post.—

Monday July 21st.

Cool. cloudy. Washed & ironed, took care of baby & did various other things. Very tired to-night. Mary has worked hard too. Getting ready to go to Saginaw tomorrow. No papers nor letters.

Tuesday 22^d

Cloudy A.M. but P.M. was bright & hot. Left Pine Run in stage at 8 1/2 P.M. It was refreshing to get out where we cd, smell the woods & fields again & look into the cool recesses of the Swamps. Poor looking country for several miles. quite new. Plank road all the way but very rough in places & not a very easy vehicle. But in spite of all that

jolting & jouncing we enjoyed the ride. It was all new to us. Farrandville[?], first stopping place. looks woodsy enough. Then Birch Run when we changed horses & rested awhile. Then we came to the Bend of the Cass R. & now the county began to look better, some nice farms, good crops. Wheat fine, & now & then a painted house. At Bridgeport Center the driver treated us to lemonade remarking that "it was better than cold water." Part of the way, Mary, the children & myself were the only passengers. Baby was very good. An old lady quaint & peculiar went [?] but half way.—There was some heavy timber, some tall pines, & the beautifully tasseled white birch, berries & wintergreens by the road side where the road went through the woods. We reached E. Saginaw at 7 P.M. & were set down at Mr. Seth McLean's. They are Anti-Slavery folks, & I think I shall like them. They are particular friends of Mary & have been very kind to her.

Enthusiastic war meeting held all about. Rebel force on S. side of James River, will try to blockade the River.

Rebel raids in Kentucky & into Indiana. Seized hospital stores at [?] Ia. Saginaw. Wednesday July 23^d.

Rose at 5 & read paper. Gen. Halleck has been made Com. in Chief of all the land forces in the U.S.— Shower last night. Fine to day.—In P.M. had pleasant ride. Mr. McLean went with us to Salt Works. This a great feature of the place.

We went to the first wells that were bored. One is 806 ft. deep & the other 750.—Pumps worked by steam. Water taken into a vat to settle. Then it is conducted into kettles, two rows, 25 in a row, ladles to stir it, baskets to drain it, & bins to throw it into for barreling. 280 lbs. in a barrel. Brine, clear, blue & cold. vats for evaporating. Solar, coarse salt, First well cost \$1200. These works extend along the river from Saginaw City to Bay City 25 miles.—Much stronger brine than at Syracuse. Have found it of 93 per ct, from a well 900 ft.

A great deal of Capital is being invested here, in the salt works. it can be taken to Syracuse & sold for less than the Syracuse salt. These [?] blocks they call them, are close to the river, & salt can be easily shipped. The river is alive with sail vessels & steamers. The lumber business is also a striking feature of the place. A great many mills, steam mills all of them. Make a noisy, lively, business like scene. Such immense piles of lumber, such huge rafts too on the River.—The place has 4 or 5000 inhabitants & it has all grown up in a very few years.—There are hundreds of new unpainted buildings scattered over a large extent, with stumps & swamps all about them. I never saw any thing like it before. There are no large, fine dwelling houses. Men invest capital in business & let fine houses go for the present. One large Hotel the Bancroft, is a very conspicuous object, & there are some substantial brick blocks for stores & commercial purposes. No elegant churches yet, & not many sidewalks. Soil, a clean black sand,

We saw dredges for clearing sand from the River. It is here half a mile wide. Some houses on Water St. have a River front, & are quite pleasant. The Littles from Avon have houses here. Washington St. is two miles long & very fine for a drive. We went to Salina some 2 or 3 miles, the road is very pleasant. Baby slept on this ride. Mrs. McLean has a nice horse &buggy & she tries to make our visit pleasant.

East Saginaw Thursday July, 24th.

Fine. Walked about town, went to the observatory of the Bancroft House. had a fine view of the whole city, & cd. trace the River for miles away, the whole prospect bounded by noble woods.—Then we went on the little steamboat Star to Saginaw City, two miles. This was a very pleasant sail, & Minnie enjoyed it very much as well as we. Saw the old Indian trading house which is now unused & the storehouse near. The location of Saginaw City is much

better than that of E. Saginaw. It is older than E. Saginaw & all the business was done there once. But now it is a dull place, but little done apparently, few new buildings, no

salt works, no steam mills. We walked up into the town & saw what there was to be seen & came back on the boat & walked home & found Stewart asleep yet. In P.M. went to get baby's picture. Sewed & read.

Jackson is said to be in the Shenandoah Valley with 70000 men.—President found 70,000 less men on the Peninsula than was sent to Gen. M°Clellan. He cd. not tell where they are. It is thought that not more than 40,000 can be dead, sick or wounded. The rest have furloughs or discharges. M°C. thinks half of this 70,000 are well & had ought to be in the army again. It is said that one Member of Congress got furloughs & discharges for 300, thinking to please his constituents by so doing I suppose. Many of these are now at their homes, & ought to go back.

Tuesday evening a successful mass meeting

in Detroit, rowdies & traitors kept quiet. But what a wicked prejudice against the negro yet. One of the speakers H. H. Emmons took occasion to say, "that if we allow negroes to fight our battles, we must allow them equal privileges, was not in favor of allowing negroes to fight for hearth stones they cd. not possess, or for the protection of communion tables around wh. they cd. not be permitted to meet our wives & sisters & daughters." What encouragement is there for right thinking men to enlist?—Gen. Washington in the Rev. War used blacks. At the battle of Red Bank, 1777 a R. Island regiment of blacks turned the fortunes of the day.—Mr. Emmons compared the President's case to that of Bill Johnson whose mother wd. whip him if he did not go to S. School, & whose father wd. whip him if he did.—

Great inducements are offered to recruits & no doubt there will be men enough. The Herald & other semisecession sheets are [?] enough I suppose.

East Saginaw Friday July 25th,

Fine. In A.M. went with Mary to Water St. to get Stewart's picture. In P.M. went again, did not succeed in getting good ones, took two. So tired, had rather do a hard day's work.—This evening packed trunk & intend to leave in stage early in morning. We have had a pleasant visit. I find Mr. & Mrs. McLean very nice kind, good people & Mrs. McL. seems more intelligent than any lady I have met in Pine Run. I have enjoyed her society, & after this Pine Run will be more distasteful than ever.—

We shall not forget our kind entertainers. & shall long remember the Steam Mills, the Salt Works, the pleasant River, & the tiny steam boats scampering to & fro. There is the Star, the Louisa, the Little Nell & the John Barley Corn. They look like Children's play things. The last particularly. The machinery makes just about as much noise as our churn at home, when father is churning.—These are large boats which ply between Saginaw & Bay City.

Saturday July 26th. 1862 Fine.

Rose very early. felt almost sick. got ready. took leave of our kind friends in E. Saginaw & entered the stage at half past 6, in anticipation of another jolting. There were 10 or 11 passengers, & we had quite a pleasant ride. At Bridgeport were all treated to lemonade again. This seems to be part of the program. It is an opposition to the cars, & they are very accommodating to passengers, & carry cheaper than the Rail Road. Reached home about 10, & tired enough, so tired I was really sick. There were letters for me from Mother, & Ella & Mary Julia, & for Mary from Joe & Frances. We were glad enough to hear from all these. All well at home. Ella not very well. Frances drying fruit & working for soldiers. Joe is well & getting quite rested.—Got 2 Democrats from Frances. Col. D.R. Anthony has been dismissed from Western army because he wd. not return fugitive slaves, & refused to guard the property of rebels. All honor to him.

Pine Run. Sunday July 27th.

Comfortable day. Cloudy—

Did not rise very early. & have not felt like doing much today. Have written to Mother & filled up diary &c. The time is going so fast that I shall have to leave Mary pretty soon. I dread it, & yet it seems as if I must go back. I had rather stay till fall, but then I might miss seeing Aunt Phebe.

Yesterday it was 134 wks. since my darling Freda was taken from me, oh that I cd. know where & how she is now!—

Monday 28th.

Hot. Shower in P.M.—Large washing & other chores. so tired. Mary has letter from Joe. No change in Potomac army. He has a plenty to eat now & feels rested.— Read N.Y. Tribune. Gen. [?] writes to a friend, "I am here with the remnant of my poor brigade. Out of 4,400 men, but 1.200 now remain. Of the balance, many lie in hospitals sick & wounded, & the bones of others lie

mouldering in the fields of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Advance[?] Station, Charles City & Quaker Road,"—Official account of our losses in the 6 days: fighting, killed 1,565, wounded 7,701, missing 5,958, total 15,224. In the S. West guerillas are making terrible work. Col. D.R. Anthony at the head of a Kansas regt. in W.Tenn. has been arrested. He has refused to return fugitive slaves or guard the property of rebels & obey order No. 3 of Gen. Halleck. Shame to our government, but honor to him.

Tuesday 29th.

Fine, hot.—Ironed in A.M. Sewed in P.M. Serg^t. Edwards is made 1st. Lieut. in Col. Monroe's 24th. Reg^t Detroit. Expects to be exchanged soon. The Chicago Tribune says "no bombshell ever thrown into the midst of a foe ever did so much execution or silenced so many guns as Sen. Chandler's speech. No man has dared to gainsay the facts addressed. The President-makers bitterly revile Sen. C. for exposing their lies, & vindicating

the Sec. of War & the President from their slanders, but the assaults upon Stanton have suddenly ceased, & the sonorous praises of the 'strategy' & the 'generalship' stopped at the same instant."—Cin. Gaz. says It was whispered here for months that the horrible unhealthy localities at Yorktown & on the Chickahominy in wh. M°C. had contrived to place his army that he might there save life by digging trenches was producing a terrible mortality; but it was treason to the "Young Napoleon" to say anything openly about it. If M°C. employed them in such a way as to waste half their number without accomplishing his object, is it not time the ghastly fact was known, & is it not time a change was made in the Command of the Army?" 70,000 men less than were sent to the Peninsula; & where are they? I would say half of these probably have been sacrificed by M°Clellan's admirers. Poor fellows! Their deaths have been in vain!

Pine Run July 30th.

Fine. hot. This A.M. fixed dress for Mary. This P.M. visited at Mrs. Knapp's & sewed. The President says he has done "throwing grass." I hope his Generals are too, but while Gen. Pope is doing about right, we hear that our soldiers are still guarding rebel property on the Pamuskey. When will our Pres. be convinced that the war will never end in this way?

Thursday 31st. July.

Very hot. This A.M. sewed. This P.M. visited at Mrs. Blackmen's.—Walked about a half mile. Finished blue sun bonnet for Stewart. Report that Richmond is being evacuated. rebels going further south.—Eng. & France are sending a large fleet to our waters, & 25000 men to Mexico. Will make trouble for us probably. Guerilla bands are making great trouble. I think we are in a bad fix just now. Things look discouraging.

Pine Run August 1st. 1862.

Hot. Cloudy. Sewed considerable. Mrs. Frost, Mrs. Mulholland, Mrs. Hyke & Mrs. Grifis here to tea. Quite pleasant people. A party of colored people have come to Pine Run from Saginaw & are having a dance to night at the Genesee House. They came in nice carriages & are well dressed & are having a good time no doubt. People rushed out to see them as if they were curiosities. There are plenty of pro slavery folks, real negrohaters. For their own sake I hope this party will do nothing to disgrace themselves. We can look into the ballroom & hear the music & the calling off & it is a lively scene. Before the dishes are rattling in preparation for supper. I wonder if the party all realize the importance of celebrating the first of August. I wonder if they now dream of freedom for their race. I wd. like to go into the ballroom and see them.

Aug. 2^d. Saturday.

Hot.—Sewed nearly all day on Mary's dress—In P.M. went to Mrs. Bradley's, & helped put up the dried fruit to send to Joe & Mr. B. Mary & Mrs. B. have letters from "Joe and Jim," Joe writes cheerfully, Jim quite the reverse. he says the soldiers have lost their enthusiasm, are a pale, sickly looking set. They drill & dig & work the same as they did a year ago. says they don't like McClellan & he cant deny that they are lousy &c.—The day they wrote, 24th, they had both been to a mill pond to bathe & wash their clothes. They now have vegetables to eat, & rations are plenty but each one has to cook for himself as they have no camp kettles yet. & the soldiers sometimes have trouble to get a place at the fire, & then occurs a battle of tin cups, & coffee beans & other rations strew the ground. With the fruit, Mrs. B. & Mary send a basin to stew it in & two teaspoons, & orders not to to get to fighting &spill their huckleberries,

blackberries &c. Papers say they are now all the while expecting an order to march. We dont know whether Stonewall Jackson is south of James R, or whether he is gone towards Washington. Either Pope or McC. must meet him.—Rumor of a battle at Richmond. Drafting to be put in force in N.Y. & Ohio. Several Rebel vessels captured. Vessels are constantly going from N.Y. for the sick & wounded near James R, 6000 there yet.

Prisoners are being exchanged all the time, It is said Beauregard has resigned.—It is said that Richmond is being evacuated.

Letter from Cousin C .Post, she is in despair about the war. "It will take all the crops of the farmers to pay taxes." &c. Aunt Phebe has gone back to Quincy without stopping in Rochester or Michigan. Her friends will be much disappointed. I must fix on a time to start for home & write to Cousin Eliza. I wish I cd. stay till fall, till September perhaps.—

Pine Run. Sunday. Aug. 3^d. 1862.

Very hot. shall not go to church, but will take care of Stewart & let Mary go. Been reading account of Van Buren's funeral &c. No display nor unusual ceremony. In his 80th yr.— Jas. Miller M^cKim & daughter have returned from Port Royal. At a large meeting in Philadelphia he gave an interesting account of affairs at P.R. The freed men and freed women are doing all that we can reasonably expect of them. The colored brigade has a bona fide existence. Gen. Saxton is likely to do well for them the people. 16000 acres are under cultivation.

N.Y. Tribune enumerates acts of late Congress. Army & navy created by its laws, developed monetary resources, &c, Prohibited the existence of Slavery in all the future & present territories of the Republic; Abolished Slavery in Dist. of Columbia; Forbidden officers or privates from returning fugitive slaves to Slavery; It has opposed

the President's policy of gradual Emancipation. Treaty sanctioned for stopping slave trade on high seas. Passed a Homestead Law. Passed Pacific R.R. Bill. &c. &c. Ellen Knapp called.

Monday Aug. 4th.

Oh, so hot. All day washed &worked all the time however. This P.M. sewed. Minnie says "Aunt Julia, come & see the old skedaddlers!" I went to the door & there was the group of Indians returning that we saw pass the other day. The 'squawk' was on horseback with a pappoose, such degraded looking creatures! The Indian carried a gun & the children were with them all bareheaded but the man.

Mary has letter from Joe. He is well or <u>was</u> rather. It was written a week ago, has new clothes, good tent & bed. Thinks they will have to go back to get to Richmond & Gen. Halleck will institute a different policy, will change the programme.—Towards night

a heavy thunder shower. The house leaks & we had to fly about pretty lively. It lightened incessantly & wind blew hard. Rain was needed very much. Things in garden all drying up.

Tuesday August 5th.

Cooler & pleasant after the shower. This A.M. ironed &c. sewed rest of day. Letter from Cousin E. Lapham. Wrote to Cousin Eliza. People are much excited about drafting. It will have to be done I suppose. President has called for 300000 more troops & has refused to receive a Negro regiment that offered its services. Shame upon him! He says "he can receive no Negro regiments but will employ as laborers all who come to us. This is to be the policy of the government, I presume. It is said Gov. Sprague of R.I. has called for a regiment of colored men & says he will go with them himself. Too good to be true. How will

this work with the President's policy?

Pine Run Aug. 6th.

Fine. Cloudy towards night. This A.M. sewed. This P.M., visited at H. Van Buskirk's. 7 or 8 ladies present. Pretty good visit. Women alarmed at the prospect of drafting for men. McClellan's position is considered dangerous; rebels are massing their forces on the S. side of James R. & making the James impossible for our army. It is said that they occupy both sides of the River between Harrison's Landing & Hampton. They mean to surround McC. They have several new iron-clad boats too, on the James, on the Savannah & on the Yazoo. They are evidently getting the upper hands of us. Guerilla bands in Mo. & Ky. & Tenn. are making terrible work.—Gen. Halleck did not leave the West in a very good state, hope he will do better for the whole than for a part. Have not much faith in him.

Thursday Aug. 7th.

Hottest day yet.—What shall we do? Ironed some & sewed considerable. Went to Mrs. Allby's to tea. The hottest P.M. that I ever went out to visit. Evening delightful. fine moon. glorious sunset. The storm of Monday evening did considerable damage in this region. Paper from home. All well.

A fight at Malvern Hill. Federals successful. fight at New Market. 10 miles from Richmond.—

Pine Run Aug. 8th. 1862.

Hottest yet! My Birth Day.

I have celebrated it by taking tea with Mrs. Frost & going to a war meeting. Hotter, I think, than yesterday. Ironed some & sewed. Finished Mary's domestic Balmoral Skirt. It will be the wonder of the place, I suppose. Baby not well, uncomfortable from heat. Those that cook all day must suffer.

War meeting at 6 P.M. in a grove of five stunted appletrees! Yet it was shady & cool enough. The moon shone beautifully. The speaker was Presiding Elder Smart. He is raising a company, & is to be Captain of it unless he is made Chaplain of the Regiment. Spoke very well & correctly too of the course of the South & its aggressions upon the North. The war was not waged to destroy Slavery, but it is going as a consequence of the war & we are glad of it!—Said some really good things. Several of the women wore long faces, husbands & sons are enlisting in the "Wolverine Guards." The Martial Music had a solemn sound to night, there were so many tearful faces.

Mary has letter from Joe, dated Aug. 1st. He was well, but there is considerable sickness there.—Several thousand federal troops have crossed the River & made a reconnaissance.

Aug. 9th. Saturday.

Cooler. fine shower last night. another this P.M.—I have done various chores today. It seems that certain prominent Western gentlemen waited on the President to offer him 2 negro regiments from the West. It was a long interview & the whole subject of army negroes was discussed. He said if he accepted them it wd. be to lose 40000 white soldiers now in the army & drive some of the Border States out of the Union. He had deliberately made up his mind to this policy & if the people were dissatisfied, he wd. resign & let Hamlin try it. One of the Senators replied he hoped he would do so. The discussion was warm. These men were astonished & considered Lincoln as backing down from what they had reason to believe he wd. do. It is thought this will put an end to the organizing of negro troops in numerous other quarters. President L. does not seem to care

for the opinion of the North or West. It is only the Border states that he fears to offend. Poor Man! he is not equal to this crisis of affairs. I am ashamed of him. How the rebels will rejoice at this decision for it is as good as 100000 men to them. They must feel more than ever convinced that Lincoln means to take care of slavery, that he is positively afraid

of them, & does not mean to put down rebellion, if by so doing slavery is likely to suffer much. I blush for such a man & tremble for the nation. God will not smile upon our efforts when put forth upon the side of the oppressor!

The casualties of all kinds in the Western Army, since it went into the field are stated of 63,500, of wh. 40000 are charged to death & absence from sickness, & 18,000 to the casualties by battle. This in Halleck's department.

Compliment for N.Y. Tribune. A friend at Copake, NY, writes that in this city he went to a news stand kept by an Irishman & asked for the Tribune. He handed it to me & smilingly remarked, 'are' sure you are not a rowdy!' He said he never knew a rowdy to buy the Tribune. They buy the Herald.

"The N.Y. Legislature enacted in 1781 That any owner of a slave who sh. have him mustered into either of the 2 regiments for the defense of the frontiers sh. receive a grant of 500 acres of land & that any such slave serving 3 yrs. or until he is regularly discharged is declared to be a freeman of this State."

Sunday Aug. 10th.

Fine. not so hot. Rose late. wrote letters. Mrs. B. & her mother called.—Louisa called. Women are wondering what they shall do. Nearly all the able bodied men are serving from this place. It is difficult now to hire any work done or to get a chore done. I am afraid Mary will not get along very well.

Exciting news yesterday & day before.

The War department directs the arrest of all persons who discourage enlistments. No persons subject to Military duty to be allowed to leave the country. Civil & military authorities instructed to prevent their flight.

Monday 11th.

Thunder Shower in morning, fine day. Washed & did various chores. Took care of baby &c.—I must think about going home soon. I don't like to say or do anything about it. It is said Fremont & Cassius M Clay are to have the department west of the Miss. McClellan has thrown a heavy body of troops across James R.—Burnside & his fleet are at Aquia Creek in route for Fredericksburg. On his way to Richmond probably & McC. will go by the way of Petersburg. Great War Meeting in Washington. President spoke. takes the blame entirely from Sec. Stanton in relation to Potomac Army.

Pine Run. Tuesday Aug. 12th.

Cool & pleasant. Ironed & sewed. Read Gen. D. Hunter's letter to Rev. Dr. Tyng in favor of Emancipation & arming slaves of Rebels.—Strange doings in N. Carolina. Negro schools have not been reopened, rent is paid the rebels for house in Newbern. Everybody wonders why N.C. was not included in the Confiscation Act.

Democratic Convention at Indianapolis on 30th [?] Speeches by C.A. Wickliffe Ky. & J.S. Carlile & Wm. A Richardson, denouncing the policy of the administration, expressing hatred of Emancipation. Slavery was declared innocent of the cause of the Rebellion. "For the Constitution as it is & the Union as it was." Speeches full of treason & sympathy with rebels.—Oh, dear—such doings! Such hatred of the negro, it is awful. Gen. Lew. Wallace in a speech at a War Meeting in Cincinnati, said he heartily despises the negro race. The negro is the cause of all this trouble. Can never permit him

to be on an equality with white men. He will fight himself if it comes to that. But wants to use them & arm them too if necessary, & take them from the rebels. We have seldom heard a public speaker glory in such wicked prejudice. How can we prosper, how can God bless our efforts? Here is another thing that provokes me, "Our requisition for the officers of a single corps of McClellan's Army is for 174 cases of claret (2,088 bottles) 46 cases of blackberry brandy, 5 cases of sherry, 52 cases French brandy, 46 cases champagne & 46 cases whiskey." Isn't this a shameful fact?

Our fleet in the Mississippi have made 2 attempts to destroy the rebel iron clad [?] Arkansas, but failed to injure her materially. Why do they let the rebels build such boats? Another Merrimac is at Richmond nearly finished, wh. expects to clear the James R. of our gunboats. We always wait for the rebels to get every thing ready to fight us.

Wednesday Aug. 13th.

Fine. Cool. Sewed. Made Minnie's long dress. Mrs. Cole called. Mary has letter from Joe. Is well. Has been made 1st. orderly Sergeant. Expecting marching orders.—
The Ram Arkansas left Vicksburg. was attacked by Federal gun boats. was abandoned & blown up. Good! Rebels are marching against Pope. N.Y. has raised all but 1200 of her quota. Rochester Regiment is full with 500 overs. Rumors of Mediation. Burnside is at Fredericksburg. Jackson has moved to the Rapidan. Our fleets have left Vicksburg & accomplished nothing the past month.

Thursday Aug. 14th

Rainy day. Did various chores in the sewing line.—Letter from Cousin Eliza. She is enjoying herself & in no particular hurry to start for home. So I will stay next week. Aug. 9th. Great battle on the Rapidan. Bank's Corps was attacked by Ewell. Heavy losses on both sides. Banks maintained

the ground until Pope arrived with reinforcements. Rebels reinforced too. fought till midnight. 2000 or 3000 lost on each side. Rebel batteries silenced, but no victory for either I infer. Next morning firing heard at Jordonsville, fighting going on there. Culpepper is one vast hospital though the wounded will be sent to Washington. In the morning the enemy sent a flag of truce asking permission to bury their dead.— Activity is

the order of the day now. Traitors & cowards plenty in our midst, & trying to get to Canada but many have been arrested under the new order.

Friday Aug. 15th.

Fine.—Great War Meeting in Flint. A delegation from Pine Run in 35 large wagons left here about 9 a.m. Preceded by music & flag. I secured a seat on a board in a lumber wagon, the way the most of them went & the ride was rather pleasant

than otherwise. A motley set filled these wagons 'tis true but they all seemed patriotic & good natured & stood the jolting well. Arrived at Flint about half past eleven, & rode at anchor in the street for an hour or so waiting for a delegation from Richfield to join the procession. Then rode through the streets awhile. When Mrs. Van B. & myself thought we preferred walking awhile, so we alighted went to Carlton House & rested, & then went to the Court House grounds where the meeting was to be held. Quite warm now & we could not get near enough to hear any thing for some time. At last we found a place when I cd. catch a glimpse of Col. Fenton who was speaking, & could hear a little. He was followed by Howard of Detroit. I heard a little, his allusions to employing negroes, "in any way to weaken the enemy & strengthen ourselves, & if in the course of the war Slavery should be sent to kingdom come," were loudly

applauded. Mr. Birney of Saginaw was speaking when we left the ground. There were no seats, & we were tired out. I think I had a good chance to see the rural population of this section of the State: & it was a study for a painter, or for several painters. The fashions of the present day & for many past years past were all to be seen there.—oh! such people as were out to day! I was not sorry to be there to see, but it was tiresome after all. We walked a long way to a Hotel where we rested till the wagons came up & it was nearly sundown when we left Flint.

Col. Fenton has returned from Port Royal to recruit for the 8th. Mich. that suffered so much in the fight at James Isl.

Capt. Smart has raised 103 men in $4\frac{1}{2}$ days. Michigan does nobly. The ride back to Pine Run was long & chilly, & I was tired enough, & came pretty near having sick head ache to finish up with,

Some of "The Knights of the Golden Circle" have turned state's evidence in Indiana. Grand jury have indicted 6 of them, a dreadful slate of things is disclosed, traitors all over the country.—

It is said that the President will not refuse Colored regiments if offered by Governers of States.—Discouraging state of affairs in the South West.—

Saturday Aug. 16th.

Fine. So tired, did not rise till late & have accomplished but little. Did chores. Mrs. Reed here to dinner. Letters from Frances & Mary Julia. Mr. Griffin is about enlisting. Anti

Slavery folks in Rochester want a teacher to go South, & are inquiring for me. Perhaps this will be a chance for me.

Frances writes that sis has been to Hartland & Somerset & has not waited for me. Folks in Niagara feel badly about the 28th. regiment wh. was in the battle at

Culpepper. Col. Donnelly & many of them killed. F. & other women are working for soldiers.

Sister Elizabeth has dislocated her shoulder. Our principal officers have not yet been released from Richmond, although we have given up all the rebel officers.

[Transcriber's Note: Following is bracketed by the word "mistake" from "Baton Rouge" through "gunboats"]

Baton Rouge has been taken by Breckenridge. He captured 4 regiments & 6 transports & sunk 2 gunboats.

Steamboat collision on Potomac 73 lives lost. Captain suspected of treachery.

McClellan has just issued General Orders 164. He says "his course agrees so nearly with the President's late order that no change is necessary. They will take what is necessary for military purposes but keep an account of what is taken, & its value & give receipts to the owners or their agents. People remaining peaceably in their homes must not be molested & where they (families) are peculiarly exposed guards will be posted for

their protection." He makes no distinction between rebels & loyal persons, so we shall have the same thing continued, guarding rebel property. But he says "Persons of African descent who are employed by an army will not be given up," but does not say but what slaves coming to our lines will be returned unless we employ them. What slip shod work. I have less & less confidence in M°C's abilities to help the cause. He says no orders in particular have been sent him by Government, which is no doubt very true. The laws of Emancipation & confiscation they will not execute until ordered to do so. Halleck's new order does not enforce the Act of Congress, & so things go on in the same old way. Oh! dear.

Sunday Aug. 17th.

Fine, cool. Wrote letters & read some. Took walk to burying ground & in the woods. Baby creeps now & has to be looked after all the while. Fell off the bed to day & hurt his head pretty badly.

N.Y. Tribune says "The people desire our rulers to remember that after a war of 16 months we have but just touched the edge of the Cotton States & the dens of the Rebellion have not been penetrated.

And the people hope the war is not to be carried on to gratify the prejudices of any particular State, of any that are conditionally loyal.

The people will insist that the means they now furnish shall be <u>used</u> promptly & efficiently for the destruction of the rebels. They loathe the idea of having these fresh lives[?] demoralized by idling in metropolitan camps, or wasted away by diseases contracted in swamps, or worn down by digging trenches far beyond even the echo of the enemy's cannon.

The loyal masses want the Government to proclaim that it is ready to use all the means known to civilized warfare. A low growl of dissent is heard in quarters where there is sympathy with the Rebellion.

The people want no levity shown the insurgents.

They want the army to feed & forage on the foe. Local laws must not stand in the way. They must yield if necessary to the common good & the Emancipation & Confiscation acts must be carried out & executed vigorously."—This Rebellion can never be put down under the guidance of men who in principle are substantially with the Rebels—who regard them as an aggrieved & wronged class, but gently deprecate the "irregular opposition" to the Government & the Laws.—

Monday 18th.

Fine. Washed & did various chores. M^cClellan is retreating from the Peninsula. Best thing that can be done probably. Will not do to send northern men there in Aug. Burnside is at Fredericksburg. Cols. Wilcox & Corcoran have been released at last. Gen. M^cC. has been busy for a wk. in sending 11,000 sick & wounded from Harrison's Landing. But the Rebels have known his intentions to evacuate no doubt,

Tuesday Aug. 19th.

Fine. Ironed & sewed. Took walk. Letter from Henrietta. All well. Battle at Baton Rouge, General Williams killed. Breckinridge lost an arm. Ram Arkansas destroyed Part of McClellan's army at Williamsburg.

Wednesday Aug 20th.

Fine. Slight shower towards night. This A.M. did chores & helped Mary empty leach tub & set up leach, the first time I ever helped do a job of the kind. All on account of the war. This P.M. visited at Mr. Cole's. Mary has letter from Joe dated Aug. 16th. at Stewart's Mansion Hospital, Baltimore. At 1°clock on the morning of the 15th, they were aroused with orders to march at 5. He had had a Diarrhea for some time & felt too weak for a long march, & the Dr. ordered all such to the steam boat & they were brought to Baltimore. Joe says he is

better & expects to be around shortly. & evidently tries to put the best face on the matter so as not to worry Mary. If he is only slightly sick, & has had a sail to Baltimore from Harrison's Landing instead of a hard long march across the Peninsula, it may be fortunate for him

This evening wrote to Joe.

Pine Run Thursday Aug. 21st.

Cloudy. Warm. Did a few chores. In P.M. visited Mrs. Reed. Called on Mrs. Knapp. Infant Drummer performing at Genesee House this evening.

Detroit Tribune has an article headed "The Change of a Year." When Gen. M^cClellan entered upon his Western Va. Campaign, he issued a proclamation to the people. Extract-"Notwithstanding all that has been said by traitors to induce you to believe that our [?] among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly, not only will we abstain from all such interference, but will on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush

any attempt at insurrection on their part. It was then the custom of leading generals to return fugitive slaves to their masters. In his recent order Gen. M°C. shares how far his own opinions have changed. "Since his army have commenced active operations, Slaves have always been received & protected & paid for their labor & they understand they can never be reclaimed by their former owners." Great progress truly. Congress has reenacted Fremont's Reclamation. Had McC done this a year ago, Dem Press wd. have denounced him as an Abolitionist. But Dem. leaders have come over to Republican ground & denounce just as freely those who have gone beyond them. May they not a year hence occupy the ground that Abolitionists do now?"—

Harrison's Landing is evacuated. The immense army & all its belongings have [?] not lost a man. It was "admirably executed." Porter's corps leads the overland portion to Yorktown. Whether they go by land or water from there is not known yet—Will join Burnside & Pope probably.

This retreat is a complete confession of the absolute failure of the campaign. We have given up trying to take Vicksburg at present. Fleets have withdrawn.

Henry Ward Beecher comes out for immediate & universal Emancipation. Says we have been made weak by the President's attempt to unite impossibilities; to make war, & keep the peace; to strike hand, & not heart; to invade Sovereign States, & not meddle with their Sovereignty; to put down Rebellion without touching its cause; &c." President says in his speech to the Committee of colored men at the White House 14th. July 14th.—he holds that the White & black races cannot dwell together. Urges them to favor Colonization. Suggests Central America.—I think it a heartless cold-blooded speech. A disgrace to one bearing the name of a Christian, & President of a Republic which declares that all men are born free & equal. Lincoln, I fear, is not able to save the country. Too small a pattern of a man.

Pine Run Aug 22^d 1862

Fine. Warm. Helped Mary make soap & did various other things. Some tired. About 1 P.M. Mrs. M^cLean & 3 other ladies came from Saginaw & took dinner with us. left at 4 P.M.

Talk of Gen. Burnside's taking command of the Army now in command of Gen. M°Clellan. There are 20 acres covered with hospitals at Hampton. A portion of the Army must remain between Yorktown & Hampton. Important army movements are anticipated. Federal forces obtained [?] at Baton Rouge. Gen. Williams killed. Mich.6th. in the battle.—Fighting in the West.—Guerrilla bands in Ky.

Mary has a letter from Joe. He is quite well but will not join the army until it reaches the Potomac. Will stay in Baltimore Hospital till he hears from Mary. Union ladies there are very kind. He has every thing he wants, Has been saved the fatigue of a long march.

Saturday Aug. 23^d

Fine. cool. Did chores. Mary has been to the Singing meeting this P.M. & evening, & has enjoyed it very much. She has hardly sung any since Joe went away. She thinks Joe is safe for the present & will be out of the way of the impending battle on the Rappahannock. I have minded the baby & he has been good. Slept most of the evening while I read news, & Minnie went to bed early. How I shall miss baby & shall want to see him oh! so much. I dread the task of going home. If Mary was going with me I wd. not mind it.

This is one of the grandest nights I ever saw. Cloudless sky. A brilliant aurora, numberless stars, & the new <u>Comet</u>. This comet was discovered on the 18th. ultimo, called Tuttle's Comet, coming towards at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of miles a day, by Tuesday it will attain its greatest brilliancy.—

In the evacuation of Harrison's Landing there were 27 miles of wagons & only one was broken.

The Corps d'[?] will remain on Peninsula. Troops of Pope, Burnside & McClellan have formed a junction, & have hastily fallen back to the Rappahannock, where they will make a stand. Sigel covers the retreat, Rebels are advancing in great Force. A desperate fight was expected as soon as yesterday or to day, something decisive. Rebels mean to engage us before our new troops can be brought into the field. But oh! one year ago we had as grand an army on this same ground wh. might have moved upon the enemy by the same route that this army will now take. We have buried an immense army since then. Then the enemy was weak now he is strong, & to think of the lives that will be lost in conquering them.

It is said Lincoln means the war shall end this winter. It is rumored that 2 wks. ago the President laid before his cabinet a proclamation of Emancipation, abolishing Slavery on the 1st. of Dec next if the rebellion is not crushed before that. Sec. Smith was absent, & all but 2 of the Cabinet

approved. Sec. Seward & P.M. Blair opposed with all their might. This leaves Chase, Smith, Wells, Stanton & Bates in favor of it. If this was only true beyond doubt! but I fear there is nothing in it.

Indian outbreak in Minnesota, Murders &c. Guerillas defeated in Mo. Cols. Corcoran & Wilcox have had splendid receptions in N.Y. Wilcox will reach Detroit on Wednesday. I shall probably be there to see.

Pine Run Aug 24. Sunday.

Fine. just cool enough for comfort. Picking up things preparatory to leaving on Tuesday morning.—Called on Mrs. Knapp who is very ill, dangerously so. Mary says "if Mrs. Knapp dies she will not stay in Pine Run. This is a friend that Mary esteems very highly & she has been very good to Mary.—Read Detroit Free Press. It is almost as bad as the Rochester Union. Such willful perversions of the truth, such gross misrepresentation of facts!

Pine Run Monday Aug. 25th.

Fine. Warm. Mary & baby & myself spent last night at Mrs. Knapp's. I sat up till 10'clock & Mary the rest of the night. Mrs. K is very sick & wished to have Mary with her. baby behaved very well. Minnie staid with 'Aunt Louisa'. Mary is almost sick today. & I do not feel much like work but we have washed as usual. I have ironed some, sewed some, packed my trunk & have had Mrs. Bradley & Louisa here to tea. Mary has been to Mrs. K's this evening, she is better.

I suppose this is the last night I shall be in Pine Run. If M. & the children were going with me it wd. be so nice, but I hope they will go east & stay through the winter. M. has just got letter from Joe. He is nearly well, in hospital yet, Miss Dix is there.—
To morrow I shall probably be far from Mary & Minnie & Stewart.

Tuesday Aug. 26th.

Very, very hot. This A.M. I was almost sick but got all ready to start. Said good bye to Mary & Minnie & Stewart, & Pine Run in general & left at noon in Omnibus for Pine Run Station wh. is one mile distant. Then on Flint & Pere Marquette R.R. five miles to Mt. Morris. Purchased ticket through to D. on Cars, \$2.60. Stopped at Flint an hour. Saw Stages lined up & start for Saginaw, such a rush for that place, Military men going to camp, & one very old lady from the East going to Tuscola. Shaker bonnet only modern thing she wore. Carried a good sized patchwork bag such as our grandmothers carried in old times. She was a character. Stage to Fentonville 16 miles. Hot ride. Then on Detroit & Milwaukee R.R. 49 mi. In car with recruits. Col. Fenton aboard. Had seat on Sunny side, hot & dusty, vis a vis with an Irish woman, who was anything but an amiable & wholesome traveling companion,

All along the way saw more or less soldiers, some sick, others wounded. Poor fellows. Reached D. about dusk, such a crowd! Joseph was there & we walked to Campus Martins. Ella pretty well. To day review of troops. Yesterday funeral of Gen. Williams who was killed at Baton Rogue. To morrow Col. W. is to arrive. such excitement. Joseph will not enter the army unless he is drafted.

Tired enough to night.

Detroit. Wednesday Aug. 27th.

So much noise did not sleep much last night. rain in night. Dust nicely laid this morning. Do not feel very well. E & I went this A.M. to look for Minnie a Shawl, found none to suit. Splendid Stores & shops. Went to Market with Ella, ripe apples, pears, peaches & plums. Very nice fruit & vegetables. Can't enjoy eating them knowing that Mary has none.

Sigel has had a battle, took 2000 rebels. Rebels have taken some of our troops too & Gen. Pope's baggage & papers.

This A.M. report fighting on Potomac & Sigel has shot M^cDowell who is suspected of treachery.

Gen. Wilcox staid in London last night & is to arrive in D. at 2 P.M. Joseph's rooms are on Campus Martins so we shall have a good view of Woodward Avenue, but we can't see the Speaker's stand.

Wednesday Evening.

Never saw so may folks together before. Before noon people began to pour in to the city & the tide set towards the foot of Woodward Avenue where Gen. W. was to land. A detachment of the 3^d U.S. Cavalry were stationed with 2 field pieces on Campus M, & the operation of loading & firing these was interesting to me.—Ella & I went to Dr. Lodge's & had a near view of the entire procession. Then was the Detroit Hussars & city Band. The 17th. Reg^t. Mich. Infantry. The Light Guard, Then in an open Carriage Gen. Wilcox, Gov. Blair, Hon. Lewis Cass &

Hon. Rob^t. M^cClelland. Then there were the 4th. Reg^t. of Cavalry, officers civil & military. Firemen. Steam engines &c. various societies &c. &c. It was the finest procession that I ever saw. But the sky began to look ominous & before they all reached the Campus it began to rain. Ella and I hastened back & did not get wet much. But such a scattering! Some found shelter, but more did not. The soldiers had to stand & take thorough drenching. It was a heavy thunder shower & in a few minutes the streets were afloat. While it was at its height, the remnant of the Old Mich. 1st. went to the stand to see the Gen. & the [?] with shouts of joy. After the shower the people came back & Gov. B. made the welcome speech & Gen. W. replied.—We tried to get near enough to hear but cd. not, we cd only see him. The unpaved space around the stand was very muddy & ladies' skirts were in a woeful plight, but they staid through it all.

More people in D. than when the Prince of Wales was here. Thousands of flags were flying & Woodward Avenue in particular was a gay & inspiring sight.—I am tired of seeing folks. The 17th. Reg^t. leaves this evening. Eliza has not come yet.—

Thursday A.M. Aug. 28th. 1862.

Fine. Warm. Walked to Camp Barnes a mile & a half where the 24th. Reg^t. is encamped. Getting ready to leave. Went into a tent where a woman was fixing her husband's things. 20 men occupy one tent. Arms stacked in center. Knapsacks & blankets lay around the edge.—Some companies were being drilled, & others were doing various things expecting to leave soon. I saw Capt. Edwards. He is a fine looking officer. I cant blame him for wishing to fight the rebels after suffering so much at their hands.—Great many people going to camp. Great many soldiers each with a package of some thing. This is my 1st. visit to a Camp & it was all interesting.—August 28th. 1862.—

⁴Diary. Detroit Aug. 28th. 1862.

Telegraph wires down. no news today. Awakened at 4 this morning by soldiers singing in the street. They had evidently been out all night & were on their way to Camp Barnes. They stopped just under our windows & sung

"We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,

We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,

We'll hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree,

We are marching on.

Glory, glory halle-hallelujah,

Glory, glory halle-hallelujah,

Glory glory halle-hallelujah,

We are marching on."

It was well sung & I enjoyed it. Then the butcher's carts & the ice wagons made the rest of the morning hideous.

This A.M. went to Camp Barnes,

This P.M. Ella & I went in omnibus to Camp Minty & to Elmwood Cemetery. It is 2 mi or more perhaps. Near the entrance of the Cemetery is a Spring where the soldiers get water for cooking purposes. A stream from this runs through the Cemetery. This is Bloody Run, an old battle ground. Each side of this gully the ground is level & all improved & ornamented. There is a very pretty chapel & carriage roads & walks, & noble trees. Jones's Monument & Andrews are very fine. There were graves enclosed with marble cradles very pretty. Saw grave of Gen. Williams who was buried last Monday after lying in State at Young Men's Hall for several days. He was killed in

1862 Transcribed Diary of Julia Wilbur (May 2015)

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⁴ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26001_001 to HC13-26001_096, in their Folder entitled Aug. 28, 1862 to Nov. 19, 1862.

battle at Baton Rouge—Webster & [Transcriber's note: blank space in original] lot was enclosed with stones & refuse from Copper works. singular idea. Got some specimens. Camp Minty is near the Cemetery. Almost the first person we noticed there

was Reuben Steams of Pine Run. He rode with us in stage when coming from Saginaw, Mary knows him, but although he knew not my name he seemed very glad to see me. Not one among that 1400 that he ever knew before he enlisted. This is the 4t. Reg^t. of Cavalry. Col. Minty commanding. The Camp is in a dry & pleasant place. Mr. S. was at leisure & he showed us every thing of interest. The tables in the open air, the cooking apparatus &c. Only 4 horses for these 1400 to practice with. Saw several Companies sworn in, & others drilling. It was all interesting to us. They were carrying several poor fellows to the hospital. We rested awhile in Capt. Smith's tent & left in the omnibus. wh. was filled with rowdy soldiers & their 'girls'. Near Camp M. is the Camp of the Mounted Rifles, nearly full & near these are the Detroit Barracks. Occupied with recruits for the old Regiments. We saw some reading, others writing, some

playing cards & when we left a company was dancing Cotillions—Tired enough. Ella endures it well.

Stewart's Cavalry has taken some of our men & stores fighting 4 days last week, Pope is on this side the Rappahannock.

Eliza don't come yet. Wrote to E. Lapham.

Detroit. Friday. 29th Aug.

Fine. Letter from Cousin E. by way of Pine Run, wants me to wait a week longer. At 9 A.M. Ella & I started for Fort Wayne & the Copper works, 3 miles. A detachment of the 3^d. U.S. Cavalry are stationed here. 5 parrot guns, 8 & 10 pounders. Walked around on the ramparts, Not much to be seen. It is star shaped, wide ditch. Grass grown. Guns command the ditches. One large building, for quarters I suppose. & one small stone building, magazine probably. —There were the ruins of several buildings. The fort is to be improved & strengthened & the work is begun. It is near the River, land

flat around it. There are trees on the sides which make it pleasant. Outside we got fine specimens & filled the basket wh. we took for that purpose.

At Copper Works got some fine specimens of ore. Not in full operation.

Got back at 1 P.M. not very tired. Rebels attack Manassas, Cavalry advance to Fairfax. 7 government trains destroyed with stores.

About 6 P.M. the 24th Regiment, Col. Morrow, passed here on their way to C.R.R. Wharf. They made a fine appearance. Capt Edwards looked well by side of Co' F. Great crowd with them. This Reg^t was raised in Wayne Co. & a large share of it in Detroit so they all had friends in this Community. They are equipped furnished with every thing that they can carry that is useful. All the officers have been presented with something & every

soldier too. They marched to the residence of Gen. Wilcox before going to the boats, & in the mean time Ella & I made our way to the dock.

We obtained a seat on a pile of baggage & afterwards stood upon the knapsacks of Co. K. a good place to see the crowd. It was a remarkable scene, The largest jam I ever saw. The immense dock & the streets leading to it were crowded. The Reg^t went on board the Cleveland & May Queen in Companies, a passage was cleared by bayonets. Col. Morrow on his horse bawled himself hoarse & "fall back" was uttered numberless times, such a roar, such confusion, such a crowding to get near the boat, the horses in the crowd, when 2000 persons were on the boats the crowd seemed none the less, there were last words, goodbyes, crying, waving handkerchiefs, such a scene I never saw before! At last Co. K's baggage must be put on board, the wen[?] ordered off. I was pushed against the wall & skinned my elbow in the operation. It was so hot there. We made our way to the entrance without having our clothes dragged off & here

the police were trying to prevent any more from going in.—The cool air was refreshing, Once is enough to be in such a crowd. Joseph knew too much to go. But I am not sorry that I went. I shall not probably see such a sight again,

Saturday. Aug. 30th.

Fine. The boats left at 8 last evening. It is said 10,000 persons were present to see the 24th off to the seat of war.

No Eliza yet. Concluded to go to Ann Arbor to visit my old friend Mrs. Carpenter. Joseph went with me to C. Depot. Train left at 8. Met Mr. Elder from Rochester. On the cars was a very important (& pompous) General Somebody. Before we left the depot a woman with a baby in her arms came in, said she to him "are you the Conductor?" "Not of this train I am not." "Have long before the cars start?" "In about three Minutes, Madam". The look of surprise & scorn which he threw at the woman failed to

annihilate, as he evidently supposed it would, for she seemed all unconscious of the presence of a live general even after he had replied to her. Oh! It was rich! Shoulder straps aboard every public conveyance, one wounded man on train, arriving at Ann Arbor, 38 mi, I met a young woman who very kindly showed me the way to Mrs. Carpenter's. Mrs. C. very much the same as she was 10 yrs. ago. My namesake her daughter Julia Fanning has just gone to Perry, N.Y. I feel very stupid. [?] lame, Ann Arbor. Sunday Aug, 31st,

Fine A.M. Shower in P.M. Feel dull & tired. Went to church with Mrs. C. Heard Mr. Savage of Chicago. Employed by Boston tract soc. to distribute tracts &c. in the camps of Western army. Gave some interesting incidents of battle of Pittsburg Landing.—
Telegraph news, fighting in the old battle field of Bull Run. Oh! dear, what is to become of us? Will the Rebels conquer us? Hope Joe is not there.

For some reason I am terribly depressed in spirits. Is it physical exhaustion or is some new calamity coming upon me. I know one thing, that I don't feel like visiting. I remarked to a certain lady this P.M. not for some reason the storms at the west were more severe than in N.Y. She said "Yes, they say that Michigan is 5000 miles nearer the sky than York State. It is nearer the thunder I suppose."

Ann Arbor, Aug Sept. 1st, 1862,

Cloudy, Do not feel well yet, Rode out with Mr. & Mrs. C. The place has grown & improved very much in 10 yrs. —Battle at Manassas all day Friday & Saturday. Pope reports our loss at 8000, Boston & Philadelphia are sending help to the wounded, no reliable report yet, Mary feels anxious now, as she is not certain where Joe is. Hope he is in the hospital yet. This A.M. went with Mrs. C. to the College. Visited Cabinet, Museum & Library. These have been enlarged & arranged nicely since I was here before, a week instead of

wd. be necessary to examine these all. I noticed a fossil lion's head, a stone with a deep hole in it won by two small stones. Piece of Franklin's house. There were many fine specimens of opals, amethysts, mica, marble, gypsum, Lockport stone, gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, salt, agates, jasper, Chaledon & other precious stones. Specimens from S. America, Mexico, & all the European Countries, especially from the mines of Norway, Sweden, Hungary &c. There is a room for statuary & terra cotta. There is a Literary, a Law & a Medical Department. The Law Building is nearly finished. —The situation of Ann Arbor is very fine. The schools make good society. Fine buildings for schools & other purposes around. There is an observatory here—The 20th regt. passed through here to day for the seat of war. Excitement among the people. Many have friends in it. Wrote to Mary.

Tuesday Sept. 2^d

Fine. Left Ann Arbor at 7. Mr. & Mrs. C. accompanied me to cars—Walked from Central Depot to Fisher's Block. Found Cousin E. there. She came in last night. Took walk on Fort St. saw residences of Gen. Cass, Sen. Chandler &c. Mrs. Jones &c Fine yards.—Dined at Henry Albertson's. This P.M. Eliza & I went to Camp Minty. Mr. Stearns was at liberty & he showed us all about & went to the hospital with us too. There were 13 sick soldiers & 3 or 5 ladies were waiting upon them, room clean & comfortable.—On our return saw two gipsies. They had been to camp to sell horses. There was a large no. of horses in a field near camp today.

When we returned to Campus Martins, a crowd was collected & Gen. Wilcox was speaking on the stand, we were delighted to be so fortunate. I was glad for Elisa's sake. We heard Col. Fenton, Capt. Throop, Elders Recd & Hickey. Went with Ella & J. to tea,

At 7 went to Depot. Joseph, & Ella & Mr. W. went with us. Crowd on boat. About dark when train started from Windsor, Night did not seen long. Slept some. Reached Bridge about 4, rested till 7 & then took train for Falls. Saw Cyrus & wife &c. Took breakfast at American Hotel. Then walked all about, visited curiosity shops. Went over to Goat Island, prospect tower, Luna Island &c. Sat awhile in summer house, never had so good a chance to see the falls before, nobody to hurry us. Took 2 o'clock train for Lockport. This was [Transcriber's note: sentence left unfinished]

Sept. 3^d. Wednesday.

A very fine day, & we enjoyed although we got very tired. Lockport was alive with soldiers, saw Stephen Van W. & Theodore who is raising a Co. Elizabeth & Alice were there & I rode to Somerset with them.

Somerset, Thursday Sept. 4th,

Very fine. In A.M. cleaned up & rested some. In P.M. called at Jeptha's. War news quite

discouraging. Rebels trying to get into Md. Pope has retreated to Alexandria. M^cC. has command of army at Washington, People have fears for W. We have lost many men & stores, but not 8000 as Pope first reported. The brave Gen Kearney is killed & Col. Webster too. Jackson is near Harper's Ferry.—

Friday, 5th.

Rode to Corners with Theodore & Eliza. Called at Morgan's. E. Wing called. Worked a little, E. in a hurry to go home.

Letter from Anna Barnes, Want me to go Port Royal, The entire Potomac army is in front of Washington.

Saturday, 6th

Rainy. This A.M. E. & I came to Morgans. Made sunbonnets for C. Rumor that Stanton has resigned & Hallock has taken his place & M^cClellan is to be Commander in Chief. If this is true we may well be discouraged. Fighting in the west. We are not successful anywhere.

At Morgan's. Sunday. Sept. 7th.

Windy. Morgan & E. & I have been to Church. I have washed dishes & wrote to Mary & Mr. B.

It is said Gen. Mitchell is to supersede Gen. Hunter, & Cadwallader, Gen. Butler, & Steele, Gen. Curtis—Gen. C. has never been defeated in a battle or skirmish, has shown no tenderness to the rebels & has freed all the slaves who have sought his protection. Marched 600 mi. through our Enemy's country & subsisted on them. These things are enough to demand his removal. Terrible losses on Friday & Saturday the 29th & 30th of Aug. The 11th Mass. went into battle with 240 men & had 105 killed & wounded. The 12th N.Y. had 354 & came out with 115, other regiments in same proportion. The 3^d. Mich. with 290 men came out with only 146, & it is said ¾ of these were killed by an

Indian Regiment wh. fired on them by mistake, Pope & McDowell are blamed very much, our loss 5 or 6000. Our wounded were left

on battle field 2 or 3 days, It is sickly to read the details. Gov. Seward in a late dispatch to Mr. Adams says, "Every where the American Gen. receives his most useful & reliable information from the negro, who hails our coming as the harbinger of freedom,"

Wednesday a battle at Bristow's Station, Hooker & Kearney drove rebels back to Manassas & took 700 prisoners, signal victory. Friday at Manassas, & Bull Run & Centerville, Kearney, Hooker & Schurz,

Saturday fighting continued our loss heavy—Monday morning our army commenced retreating, Monday night Gen. Kearny was killed. Rebels have crossed into Md.

Somerset, Sunday Sept. 8th.

Sun. rain. Wind. Sewed all day. E. & Susie & I alone this P.M. The rest gone to Oleott to see a boat launched. No good news. Abundance of fine fruit here.

Tuesday 9th,

Fine, cool, Finished E's dress. Letter from Mary. She is sick with fever, quite sickly in Pine Run & no help to be had. Children have whooping cough. Joe had gone to join his regiment, was at Alexandria. Very likely he has been in these last battles. Poor Mary how anxious she must be. Have written to her this evening, Rebels only 60 mi. from Baltimore now, McDowell is arrested for treason,

Wednesday 10th,

Fine. This A.M. sewed. This P.M. called at Jeptha's. Mary Jane is very low. Went to Alfred's. Company of young ladies there, all scraping lint, Libbie B. sung & played "We're coming father Abraham, &c. & the John Brown song,

Thursday 11th,

Fine. Did various things. Elizabeth & Frances came. Cousin E. went home with F. I intend to go to Abner's tomorrow, Theodore is in Lockport. Stonewall Jackson is making his way

towards Penn, M^cC. has gone after him. Pope is assigned a command in the west, Friday 12th.

Left Alfred's at 10 & rode in a pouring rain to Abner's. Fine P.M. Company here. Been in the peach orchard. Soldiers feel hard towards M^cDowell. Wrote to Ella.

Saturday 13th.

Fine. Frances took Cousin E. to Middleport to start for home, I am to wait till I hear from father & Mary. If M. is likely to be sick long & cant have good care, I shall go to her before I go home—Read "Tempest & Sunshine," sewed. Feel very much depressed in

spirits, but this evening a letter came from Mary. She is better so as to be around. The children cough hard, baby is teething too, poor little fellow. I fear it will go hard with him, Joe's mother is with M. She had letter from Joe written at Camp Lyon 1 ½ mi. from Alex. 2^d. Regt. was not in last battle, but they were drawn up in battle

array, & stood through a terrible storm & at night did picket duty on the battle field. At 3 A.M. they began to retreat towards Fairfax.

They were whipped out, sore & stiff, He thinks the fellback[?] to draw the rebels on. He says they fight desperately & have a large force.

The 24th. Mich. had just arrived & camped near them. They looked as if they were just out of bandboxes by the side of the 2^d so tired & dirty just from the battle field.

Sunday 14th. Hartland.

Fine. Frances went to church. Abner is out, & I have been alone part of the day. I am in a hurry to be at home now. Mary hopes I will not go to Port Royal. My going is uncertain yet. If I do go, I hope I can see her & the children first & get them fixed comfortably at home.

Jackson is about to enter Penn. Why don't our Potomac army prevent him. M^cClellan advances a little. Fighting at Harper's Ferry. Fight near Frederick, enemy is repulsed.

Hartland Monday 15th.

Rainy, Abner left at 2 A.M. for Batavia with a load of peaches. I have finished F's dress, & done but little else.

Burnside at Frederick, Penn. in arms.

Tuesday 16th

Fine. Sewed & did chores. Battle at Harper's Ferry. We Rebels took 15000 prisoners. After the battle at Frederick, "McClellan & his staff rode into town." I wd. like to have him in one fight.

Letter from Father. He cant tell what is best for me to do, thinks I had better come home first, I feel so disappointed! Letter from Mary, she is almost well, Minnie coughs hard, baby is sick. Mary wants to come home for the winter.

Fine. Wednesday 17th. Letter to Joe.

Frances took me to M. train left at 8. Blind man & soldiers & rowdy chaps &c, Cousin I at Spencerport, C. & children well. Went to Dyer's. Called on Mrs. Barnes, Tea with Mrs. Coleman.

Rochester Thursday 18th,

Called on Mrs. Hurd, ahe has just returned from visit to hospitals at W. & Falls Church. Gave me interesting information, Called at Miss Eton's school & on Mrs. Tibbetts, & Anna B. Perhaps I shall go to Washington to look after contrabands there. Did some shopping, brought Waterproof, &c. Took tea at John's. Great news, We are going to beat the rebels!!

Friday 19th,

Warm. Did shopping. Went to depot at 10. Saw soldiers & runaway horse. The 140th regt. leave at noon. Mr. Griffin is in the 8th. Cav. He is very much engaged. City full of soldiers, excitement & bustle. Dined at Mr. Winans. Mrs. W. & I went to the burying ground. Our lot looks neglected, nothing been done to it this summer. Mr. & Mrs. W. came home with me. Found father quite well, but mother is sick.

Things in house look about as usual. Garden overgrown with weeds.

Rush, Saturday Sept. 20th, '62.

Fine. Cleaned and aired clothes press, & arranged things, sewed some, Mrs. & Mr. B. called. Hear that Freda dear is not well this summer. I thought that Revilo wd. take the opportunity while I was gone and bring her down to Harvey's, but he did not. I can see no one that has seen her. It is 143 wks. since my darling was taken from me, the precious one. Does she ever think of me now? Oh! dear.

At Home, Sunday. 21st.

Fine. Father & Mother have been to church, I have taken a bath & feel refreshed. Have wrote to Frances and Mary, & read some. Cousin Jeptha called. The day has not been half long enough. There is so much I want to do. Papers have accumulated & I want to look them over. A journal to copy, letters to write, sewing to do & work in doors and out to be done.

Monday, 22nd. Rose early.

Fine, Worked till 3 P.M. Father been to Avon.

Did various things. Ann Miller sick & gone away. & what shall I do now, I must get ready to go away, but they will expect me to do some of the housework.—
This evening wrote. —

Tuesday 23d.

Fine. Ironed & washed dishes &c, &c. Wrote this evening—very tired. Letter from Joe, he is near Fairfax Seminary, is well, seems odd to have fighting going on & they not in it. Think they are there for the protection of Washington, but I am so glad they are having a chance to rest. They mourn the loss of Kearney.—They are ready to march at a moment's warning —He has not received the dried fruit that Mary sent.

Wednesday 24th.

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M. Father sick last night & is sick to day. I have washed dishes, written to Joe, labelled my specimens & filled up my journal.

Last evening Cyrus & Eliza called.

I don't see how I shall get my work done & get ready to go—

This evening read Democrat. Battles in Md. terrible fighting, great slaughter, on both sides. The rebel army have recrossed the Potomac, & escaped, so there is nothing decisive after all—They thought they cd. ravage Penn. People were alarmed, but Gov.

Curtin called out every ablebodied man. By the surrender of Harper's Ferry then the Rebels took 14,500 men, rations for 14000 for 20 days, 100 tuns ammunition, 57 cannon, 14000 stands of arms & 4 batteries of artillery.

Thursday 25th.

Very fine. This A.M. did housework & this P.M. drove new horse to Avon. Called at Mrs. H's. Mrs. H. has had stroke of palsy, & she is very feeble & infirm.

Went to Uncle Ephraims to tea, got back about dusk.

President made a Proclamation of Emancipation on the 22nd inst, to take place the 1st of Jan. 1863 in those states wh. do not send representations to Congress at that time. It is a <u>Lincoln document</u>, indefinite, disjointed & insufficient too I think. It is too far in the future. Three months at

now are equal to 3 yrs. of ordinary time. There is a wide margin of loopholes for rebels to make it of no effect.—But it has required a great effort on his part to do this much. —I am thankful for it, for it shows that he considers himself empowered to abolish Slavery, & that the Constitution gives him this power.

But the Democratic & Conservative press howl over it awfully, & now calls the President weak, & cowardly & say that he violates the Constitution & upsets his inaugural & his two previous proclamations. Oh the "malign abolitionists" will exasperate our "misguided southern brethren" in their "irregular opposition" to the government. — Well, we shall see what comes of it. And Lincoln has just notified his generals that the laws of the last Congress must be enforced. He sh. have done this immediately on their passage, McClellan said some time ago that he sh. not notice them till officially informed of them. Greely has insisted upon the "enforcement of the laws" & the President has yielded to his demands.

Yet with all my heart I can say "God bless Abraham Lincoln" A serenade was given him & a large crowd assembled, & he made a short speech, so did Chase & C.M. Clay. It is said his Cabinet all approve of his course but Blair.

Friday Sept. 26th

Delightful weather. Marked linen, sewed & did chores. Wrote to Wm. Penn. Papers filled with accounts of the late battles. Sumner only[?] has made an official report yet. His Corps lost 5,208 of these, 860 were killed. Penn. V[?] Mass. Regts. suffered most. It is said our losses will reach 10,000 in killed & wounded, & all directly traceable to the surrender of Harper's Ferry. The rebels are now South of the Potomac, & it is said Heintzelman & Sigel are to cut them off if they attempt to escape.

Saturday 27th

Very fine. This evening took Mother to W. Avon to take train for Mt. Morris, she is to be gone several days. I had a pleasant ride, like to drive new horse.

Called on Mrs. Wiand, got papers. no more fighting in Potomac Army, but fighting in Ky. & in the west.— Read Tribune & World & sewed some. No letter from R. Uncertain as to what I shall do or when I go. But I will keep on getting ready to go somewhere. Gen. Hunter is a Republican, so are Banks, Fremont, Heintzelman & Keyes. Pope was a pro slavery Democrat.

Sunday 28th.

Fine, a perfect day. Wish Mary was here to enjoy it, & have some of our fruit. Father has been to Uncle Jeptha's. I have been alone part of the time. I have written some & read some. W. Phillips speech & Rev M.D. Conway's on 1st. of Aug. are both capital. — Monday 29th.

Warm. Cloudy. Washed, took up carpet in front chamber, cleaned some & did various things. Read some. E. Daily

& Mrs. Dulinea Dailey called. Letter from Mary. She is not very well. Minnie is better, but Stewart coughs very hard yet. She is getting ready to come here, wants to hear from Joe once more before she can decide.

Tuesday, 30

Cloudy. Worked on my Gingham dress & read some. Very quiet here. Dr. B. called to prescribe for father who is not very well. State Fair at Rochester begins today. I have no desire to go.

Wednesday Oct. 1st.

Rainy day. bad time for Fair.

Mother came back from Mt. Morris this morning. I have sewed nearly all day.

Thursday 2^d.

Rainy. Sewed all day on my delaine dress. Letter from Joe, he is well & in good spirits. At Upton Hill, a few miles from Falls Church. Move their Camp often. I shall try to see him if I go to

Washington & take him some things. He says Mary may come here this winter if she chooses. So I shall hurry her up. No particular war news.—

Friday Oct. 3^d, 1862

Rained a little. P.M. Pleasant. Sewed all day & am getting tired of it. Cyrus & Julia called. Hoped to see some of the Somerset folks this week, but they do not come yet. Wish I cd. hear from Rochester so that I can decide upon something. Cousin Eliza saw Freda at the Fair in Geneseo, but did not speak to her. If I cd. have such an opportunity! Saturday Oct. 4th.

High wind. Squally.— This A.M. did various chores. This P.M. went to Mr. Bigelow's. Heard from darling Freda. The 1st week in July she spent at her Grandpa B's. She was quite unwell, was troubled with a cough. I think she is a delicate child & requires

more & better care than she probably gets. Could I have her with me & nurse her tenderly & carefully what a privilege it wd. be. She has grown but little & weighs only 39 lbs., a few lbs. more than when she left here more than 2 yrs. ago. Last fall she spent a week at R's brother's, O.B's in Groveland. I am told that she said there that "her Grandfather gave her a stick of candy; told her Aunt Libby to give it to her; that Grandfather & Aunt Mary came to see her; that Grandfather & Aunt Mary came to see her, they went to the house & she was not there, & they came to the School House & they would'nt let Grandfather and Aunt Mary see her".—So it seems they can't keep such things from her; somebody will be good enough to tell her all about it as she grows older, & then how can she respect her father? It is 144 wks. since she was taken from us on that cold December day, that last day of the year 1859! What a load of sorrow has been mine to bear since then. For a whole year she was probably not out of my mind an hour at a time.—

Rush Sunday Oct. 5th, 1862

Fine. Father and Mother have been to church. I sat myself down to spend the day in writing letters &c, when I was very agreeably surprised by the unexpected entrance of Sister F & Mary Julia. They had walked from E. Avon, having come up from R. last evening on the cars & staid all night at Mr. H's. F. has been to State Fair. She says as many as usual have attended, but there was not so much exhibited as usual.—I have had no desire to go. All so busy in Somerset that they can't come to see us. Morgan & Elizabeth & Inez & Susie when the horse took fright & they were all thrown out, & Morgan was badly hurt, the rest escaped uninjured. Sis & I have looked over all my Herbarium wh. contains 600 or 700 Specimens, & I had several Specimens to give her. She is about to Commence a Herbarium.

We have taken a walk to the Falls. The Stream is dry & we walked in the beds down in to the ravine. It was very pleasant there. The sun was low in the west, the sky was cloudless. The place was quiet, the fields are all beautiful now, & the trees begin to show the approach of autumn. The cows & horses were grazing quietly in the adjoining field. & "on the hill the golden rod, & the Aster in the wood, & the yellow sunflower by the brook In Autumn beauty stood.

But tonight

"A frost will fall from the clear cold heaven

As falls the plague on men

And the brightness of their smile is gone

From upland, glade and glen."

Sis has not been here in a long time before, & it seems so good to have her here again, & I have enjoyed her visit very much. I have put up a parcel of things for hospital purposes, & Frances is to take them with her.

& I have had a very busy day. They are to leave tomorrow morning early.

Monday Oct. 6th.

Fine Morning, Cloudy P.M. Rose early. A hard frost last night. The fields were white this morning & it was quite cold. I took F. & Mary J. to W. Avon to the cars. Called at Mr. Hartwell's, glad of a chance to warm. Have done various chores today & am tired tonight. — The proslavery papers ridicule the President's Proclamation but the loyal & leading papers all endorse it, & are jubilant over it, & the general voice is "God bless Abraham Lincoln"! Garrison is thankful for it, but fears that by its being put so far off, the rebels will in the mean time emancipate the slaves & arm them against us. Beecher does not call it a decree of emancipation, but a notice that such a decree will be made on the 1st, of Jan, next, if those states are still in revolt.

Wednesday Oct. 8th, 1862

Hot. This A.M. rode with father to Uncle J's. & staid an hour or so.

Letters from Anna Barnes & Mary, Mary's baby was very sick, has dysentery & has had several fits. She thought it would not live, & I fear the little dear one is not living now. I felt as if I must go to her, & if baby dies bring back his remains, but perhaps he may have been dead several days before I cd. get there, & then it could not be done. But if he dies & is buried there, his remains must be brought here at some time, & if I live it shall be done if possible. M. said to me last summer "she hoped she wd. not have to bury one of her children in Pine Run". Oh! she is full of trouble, so far from her own folks, when she needs their help & sympathy so much. She is not well either, Minnie is better. It is sickly there, & I fear M. will be worse. I have written to M. to day to come as soon as she is well enough. —I have written to Frances to

to go & see her if She can. She will do so if she can.—Father & Mother intend to start for Somerset to morrow & will be gone probably a week or ten days. The Ladies Society in R. want me to go to Washington as soon as I can, I could go in a few days, but I must wait till our folks come back. — I have written to Ella & to Joe, & been to Harvey B's with the letters. I have passed a busy & exciting day & am tired & have headache to night.

Thursday 9th.

Rainy, But father & mother started at noon. I am afraid they will not have a pleasant time. It is very still & lonely without them.

I have been [Transcriber's Note: Word missing?] closets &c. There is so much to do. Read Chas. Sumner's speech, "The Policy of Emancipation". Capital, grand, just the thing for the time. He says "without the aid of the Slaves this war cannot be ended successfully". He says "Wherever I turn in this war I find the African. If you ask for Strategy, I know

nothing better than that of the Slave Robert Smalls, who brought the Rebel steamer Planter with its armament out of Charleston, & surrendered it to our Commodore as prize of war. If you ask for successful courage, I know nothing better than that of the African Tillman who rose upon a rebel prize crew, &, overcoming them, carried the Ship into N.Y. If you ask for heroism, you will find it in that nameless African on board the Pawnee who while passing shell from the magazine lost both his legs by a ball, but still holding the shell cries out; "Pass up the shell – never mind me; my time is up." And if you ask for fidelity, you will find it in that slave, also without a name, who pointed out the road of safety to the harassed, retreating army of the Potomac. And if you ask for evidence of the desire for freedom, you will find it in the little slave girl, journeying north, whom Banks took on his Cannon."—

Wednesday Oct. 17th,

Cloudy, cold. Have sewed & done various chores. had headache & feel tired. Had a hard day's work yesterday. Went to city on cars & back & walked nearly all day in doing shopping & other business.

Indebted to a neighbor's kindness in getting to Rush & back again, for H. will do nothing for me if he can help it. Do not like to leave the house with hired help, but cd. not avoid it this time. I expect to start for Washington next Tuesday or Wednesday. Saw Mrs. B. to day & made the final arrangements for going to see what can be done for the Contrabands that have sought refuge in W. & vicinity. — I have a great deal to do & to think of in order to get ready for, probably, a long absence from home. I do not like to leave father to go so far away. If he is sick I wd. like to be here. Still, my way seems clear to go.

& then I wd. like very much to be here when Mary comes. I wd. like to be at home this winter with her & her little ones, & father too. It wd. seem more homelike than it has done in a long time, but I shall forego all this at the call of what seems duty. I may be disappointed in accomplishing much good. It is a sort of venture & I may regret that I undertook it. Yet it seems all the while as if the Lord would guide my steps in this, & bless my efforts.

Have letter from Frances, she probably started for Mich. on Monday, to stay with M. until they get well enough to come home. I am so glad that she feels as if she could go. I wd. have gone before this had I not committed myself to the Society.—I am so anxious to hear from M. again. Hope baby is better by her not writing again. Letter from Ella she is not quite as well as she had been. Hope to see Joe when I get to W. but I fear the army will move farther away before I get there.

Mr. Griffin is to leave R. for Elmira to-morrow, & C. is feeling anxious now. So many soldiers try to leave Camp Porter that they are all going to E. for safekeeping. C's house was in danger of being burnt last wk. Every thing was removed from the

house, & things were lost & damaged considerably. They had a great fright. I can imagine how each one performed her part. I asked Neddy if he slept as sound as usual. He said "No, they took his bedstead down". C. told Mary Julia to get the spoons &c, & take care of them. She took them, went across the street & threw them down, & some were lost, of course. None of them seemed to have much presence of of mind.

October 16th

Rainy, Did housework this A.M. & this P.M. trimmed my black Straw bonnet, Oh! I have so many chores to do, to get ready. Wrote to M. Letter from Mary, baby is a little better.

If he gets no worse & improves a little she intends to start for Middleport next Monday. She is almost down sick herself. & has a great deal to do to get ready to leave, for it is uncertain when she returns or whether she returns at all.—I hope Frances is with her now to help her. I will think that she is & try to rest contented.

Sunday 19th, Oct.

Rainy A.M. Fine P.M. Yesterday went to W. Avon & worked awhile in the burying ground. The grass had not been disturbed in all Summer & it looked bad there. Mother's grave is sunken & the head stone is falling down, & it looks neglected, uncared for.—I have asked Henry to fix it up. but he does not do it. & then when I am away I suppose no one will pay any attention to it. It is a precious spot to me & I hope I can sleep there at last. But how uncertain this is. I called at Mr. Winans & then went to Uncle Ephraims & staid all night. Came home this morning. Since then have arranged paper & written some.

Father & Mother came home Friday P.M. Frances has gone to Somerset Michigan [Transcriber's Note: "Michigan" appears to have been added in pencil] to stay with M. till they get well enough to come home. I am so thankful that F. cd. go. It has relieved me very much.—

Intend to start for Washington on Wednesday.—I do not feel well now. I feel so tired & my head aches, hope I shall feel better before that time. I am growing nervous & anxious.

At Home, Monday Oct. 21, 1862,

Rainy P.M. Have packed trunks & have every thing nearly ready to start tomorrow. I am very tired. I have worked so hard lately that I am almost sick. Did not sleep much last night. I have so much to think of, & am anxious about leaving home so long, father is not well & I fear he will be sick while I am away. If they wd. only write me often, & telegraph if he is very sick, but they may not think

it worth while. But it seems right to go. Letter from Joe. He is at Edwards Ferry 30 mi. from Washington. He thinks perhaps I can come there with the mail boy, who belongs to their co. they are 17 mi. from a Railroad, but he thinks he may come to W. & see me. I am disappointed. He says Mary is most ready to come home, & Stewart is gaining slowly. He did not know when he wrote that Frances is there. Mrs. B. called this P.M. —

Oct. 22^d, Wednesday. 1862

Rain & sunshine Wayland Station

Left home at 9 this morning. Jim brought me to Avon. As I approached W. Avon, a beautiful rainbow spanned the horizon, west. Was this bow of promise for me? I will accept the omen & go on hopefully on my way. Called at Mrs. W's. she sends a package by me to Lewis, whom I shall endeavor to see. She left me at the depot with a kind goodbye.

Train started at 11, but I find nobody that I know. Baggage checked to Elmira & Ticket to Baltimore \$9.00 —A good start. The forests are beautiful. no frost yet, & a brilliant green is interspersed with the most gorgeous hues. Our way is through a scene of Continual beauty. When passing through Livonia I cd. distinctly see on the other side of Conesus L. the very house where my darling Freda lives. Would she like to see "Aunty" to day. Oh! that I could know whether she thinks of me yet; & must I go so far away from her when I love her so much! The Country to Corning is beautiful, through Springwater, Wayland &c. but alone I cannot half enjoy it. From Avoca to Bath it increases in beauty. The road runs through Conhocton Valley, some of the hills are beautifully wooded, others cleared & cultivated to their very summits, good buildings &c. This is Steuben Co. Then the hills aspire to mountains, some

covered with evergreens enlivened occasionally with colored foliage, how beautiful! Long Stop at Elmira. Changed very nice cars for those not quite so nice, several growling gentlemen aboard. Soldiers all about, here. From E. the scenery was very fine & night came upon us in the midst of most magnificent views. Reached Williamsport at 9 P.M. & changed cars for those more uncomfortable still. There was a ladies Car, into wh. no gentlemen were admitted unless they had ladies in their charge. The other cars had no fires, & gentlemen were in high dudgeon when drivn[?] into them. One queer specimen refused to leave, & gave them to understand that he had charge of myself who was sitting in a seat behind him. But as the car filled up, he took a seat by me, & cd. not object to it as much as I wished a seat alone as we were to ride all night.—Midnight found us at Halifax & 1 A.M. at Harrisburg Pa. Here was a long stop & a long bridge over the Susquehannah.

Fine Starlight night, we went so slow, & in the mean time my companion became very sociable. He was Frank Phelps, a showman from Elmira on his way to W. to open a theater. A Democrat, a negro hater, a goodnatured, generous, offhand fellow. We discussed his calling, & my own likewise. We represented the Extremes of opinions & ways of doing things. We had regular battle of words, for it was not in him to rise to the dignity of an argument. I shall not soon forget him although I was glad to be rid of him. —We went so slow that day light found us only 22 mi. from Harrisburg at York, Md.

Waited an hour here & the sun rose in the cloudless sky. The first sign I read was "Drake's Plantation Bitters". First negro I saw was selling pies. A wreck car came in, & we found that the cause of our delay was occasioned by a train being thrown from the track in the night, and we soon passed several smashed up cars near a long tunnel. York a quite a place.

A Slave State! how different everything looks, from what I have been used to seeing, large houses, no shade trees, houses mostly brick. 2 stories & basement, on a side hill usually, Davis house, & oven out doors. some ovens quite ornamental, few orchards, poor looking soil, poor fences, poor cultivation. but leather plints[?], for the harness nearly covers the horse. The places we pass through are Sunbury 137 mi. from Baltimore. (Harrisburg 58 mi. from Sunbury) York, Glenrock, Freelands, Parkton where the 140th, Pa. were encamped. White Hall, where there were more soldiers, Monkton, Glencoe, Phoenix, Cockeysville, Texar, Lutherville, Relay, Mt. Washington, Bolton, Then Baltimore wh. we reached at 10 A.M. Instead of being in W. at that time, We passed 3 places where cars were wrecked, long stops at every station. From Glenrock the R.R. is guarded by soldiers. There are many streams & deep gulleys & high bridges & lonely places in the woods where it cd. be dangerous to be thrown from

the track such places were guarded, sometimes by one, sometimes by 2 or 3, or a doz. or a Co. These men looked very lonely, some bad hits[?]. The 1st conspicuous object in B. is Washington Monument. Took omnibus for Barnum's City Hotel with Mrs. Cameron, who was on her way to Harper's Ferry to see her husband Maj. Cameron, son of Ex. Sec. C.—We took breakfast, she invited me to occupy a room with her for no train left for W. till 5 P.M. We went shopping & I saw something of B. It is an immense city. Streets narrow & dirty, houses high, looks like some parts of N.Y. Barnum's H. near Battle Monument's a very fine house 7 stories balconies to the 5th, high, with several Union flags flying from it. Its proprietor is secesh & had a son who was aid to Beauregard. In the drawing room were gay ladies, one sharing her album wh. contained portraits of rebel Generals.—Mrs. C. says she has had regular battles with ladies there. The wife of Gen. Saxe was there, a very gay lady. Mrs. C. is most agreeable

stranger I ever met. She has lived in Toronto, & worked for fugitives, & wished me success in my mission. At Depot, soldiers guard the entrance to every car, fire broke out as we were leaving. Long stop at Relay House 2 or 3 mi. from B. This House & its surroundings look like a fit place for Evil deeds. It is a lonely place, steep hills, a dark ravine, a stream, a bridge &c. We saw 2 or 3 encampments of 2000 men each at a little distance. There was a light in every tent & they looked beautiful.—Cars very coarse & inconvenient. Col. Doran of the 13th, Va. In. occupied the seat with me, a Lieut. & a Sergt. sat before me. & one of the Coast survey behind me. Col. D. was very pleasant in

conversation. He was wounded at the battle of Cheat Mountain, but has recovered & is now recruiting a regt. at W. Phil^a. —He thinks we cannot succeed unless we emancipate the slaves. We reached W. at 9 P.M. Col. D. very kindly assisted me about my baggage, & saw me safely seated in an omnibus, saying "driver, set this lady down at Willards". which was done accordingly. Penn Av. is a brilliant in

scene in the evening. I found myself in a strange city & in a strange house, but I dismissed all fears & had a good night's rest, wh. I very much needed. — Today I have been waited upon by <u>slaves</u> for the first time in my life I suppose. Waiters at Barnum's all colored. so are they here at W's.

Friday Oct. 24th, Washington.

Fine, hazy, air seems full of dust. Took breakfast at 7 & then started on my travels. Looked for 371 13th. St. & after some trouble I found it, it is the residence of G.E. Baker, Treas. of "Freedmen's Relief Association". Mrs. B. directed me to Mrs. Dr[?] Johnson's 374 10th St. near L. where Miss Patten & Miss Doxy board. There are matrons for the Contrabands. They have all 2000 or 3000 been removed from Duff Green's Row & the old M^cClellan barracks a little out of the city, on 12th St. I went there & saw men to excite my sympathy than I ever saw before in my life. From 5 to 20 in one room, some have fire & some have not, some are in old tents without floors, with old blankets & rags to tie on, & many are sick. Gov^t. gives them these

shelters, rations, & a mil. guard. The Freedmen's Relief Association provides a Superintendent, 2 Matrons, Miss Patten & Miss Doxy, a physician, medical stores, & some clothing & bedding wh. they get from the North. Gov. is to erect buildings for them before cold weather, & hospitals also. Miss P. has collected the orphans into one room & put a woman in charge of them, several were sick.—I asked this woman if she had rather be here than where she came from? She says "yes, she fared no worse here than she did there, & if she did fare worse she was better satisfied to be here." At one door was sitting a young women. I said to Miss P. "That is a white girl." She said no; 5 young women occupy this room, this one was sick, the rest were away to work. All the well ones have to work or else they get no help from Miss P.—These rooms have no chimneys. In one filled with smoke from a fire in the center, were seven or 8 persons & one women with a dying child on her lap. —In some rooms & tents you may see a pile of rags. Look a moment, one of these piles stirs & you discover a human being in it. The N.Y. Tract Soc. has monopolized the Schools, but they do not amount to much. There was no sign of a school when I was there.

Came back to Willards to be in time for dinner but waited an hr. & a half in Drawing room & made the acquaintance of 2 Phila. Friends who have come here to learn the condition of the Contrabands. One was is Eliza Sharpless, the name of the other I did not

learn. I went down to dinner with them & I saw Eliza Gurney, widow of Joseph John Gurney. She now lives in Burlington N.J.—Col. Mulligan sat at a table opposite me. He was in citizens dress, but Shoulderstraps of high rank were all about us. This morning at breakfast I was seated near a live Col. & a Maj!—After dinner I was introduced to E. Gurney. She is a lady of noble presence, we talked a little & she said, "I will see thee tomorrow & give thee a little money."

Called on Mrs. W. Johnson, where Mr. Channing boards. She cd. not help me at all about a boarding place. Mr. C. was out & I have not seen him yet. Then I tried to find Mr. Hamilton's residence, & was sent to Sec. Stanton's house to inquire. So I have come back here to rest all I can. I have walked miles today. I am puzzled to find my way about

this large house. I saw 2 regiments going north. Trains of army wagons are going in all directions. The streets are alive with soldiers, Officers are riding in all directions. But soldiers on the march is to me a solemn procession, I do not enjoy it. The music is inexpressibly sad. I must write to Joe as soon as possible. I fear he is going still further off.

Washington, Saturday Evening. Oct. 25.

Fine day. As soon as possible after breakfast I went to drawing room hoping to see E. Gurney. She did not appear, but I met a lady who came on the cars with me to W. & had a pleasant chat with her.—Went to State Dept. & saw G.E. Baker, Treas. of the Association. Then went to Treas. Dept. & saw H. Hamlin Pres. of the Asso^{tn}. & cousin of the Vice Pres. He thinks Alexandria is the place for me. 500 Contrabands there who are so much worse off than those here, these in W. seem Comfortable. Then went to J. Van Santvoord in Patent Office. When I told him my object in coming he said, "Miss Wilbur, it seems as if God had sent to here just at this time." He is a Schenectady man, had a long talk with him & Mr. Nichols. Super^{nt} of the Colony here. Mr. Van S. went with

me to find a boarding place, succeeded on the 3^d application at Miss Bohle's 413 E. St. He introduced me to his Aunt Mrs. Munson who invited me to go with her at 4 P.M. to Harewood Hos. Mr. Van S. also wrote me a letter of introduction to Gen. Wadsworth. Mil. Gov. of Dist. of Columbia. Mr. Van S. engaged a carman whom he knew to transfer all my traps from Willard's to 413 E. St. This attended to I went to Head Quarters & presented my letter. I soon had an audience with the Gen. Said he "I heartily approve your object. I will endorse this letter & send it to Gen. Banks. He commands Defenses of Washington & this includes Alexandria. He told me just where to find Gen. B. & said "if you want any thing more, come to me again." I am much pleased with Gen. Wadsworth, he was so kind & cordial & reminds me very much of Uncle C. Swarthout. So I went to Head Quarters of Gen. B. My dispatch was marked "personal" & they gave me attention immediately. I was not asked to see Gen. B. but his Aid soon returned & gave some

very incoherent & disconnected instructions to a young man who was writing at a table near wh. I was sitting. "The Com^{dg}. Gen. wishes Alex. Gen. Slough, Miss W. nothing contrary to Republicanism" &c" were the words as near as I can remember. The young man wrote as follows: "Head Quarters, Defenses of Washington.

Oct. 25th, 1862

General: The Commanding General directs me to enclose to you the Accompanying paper & to express his wish that Miss Wilbur may be made use of in any way, in your opinion, not inconsistent with the interests of the service. Very respectfully

Your Obedient Servant

Richard B. Irwin

Capt. A. D. C.

A. A. A. G

Brig. Gen. Slough

Mil.Gov. Alexandria."

I don't like it. I think Gen B. intended something different from this, but the careless aid did not Express correctly his wishes.

I suppose it is a sort of Commission. Then hastened to my new boarding place. wrote to Joe & Lewis W. dispensed with dinner & went with Mrs. Munson in an ambulance to Harewood hospital on Corcoran Farm 2 or 3 mi. from City. This Farm is all like pleasure grounds, high, uneven, fine carriage roads. Several ornamented gothic buildings for storing hay. The house is not very elegant. This was L.C's summer residence. Hundreds of tents arranged in streets. Dr. Hill, chief, Chap. Meek with tracts. Each ward has a master, some tents look clean & comfortable, but many quite otherwise. 2000 or 3000 sick & wounded here. Many nearly well and able to be about, some of these met us & Mrs. M. might have given away all she had in the ambulance before we reached the tents. She receives supplies from N.Y. ladies & distributes them as these ladies desire. Gov. Morgan furnishes her with an ambulance & mules & she goes all about to the various hospitals.

Typhoid patients by themselves. May have fever

& ague, found Rawson Smith & Son from Wheatland, N.Y. Although not acquainted with them they were glad to see me, Doleby boy from Rochester. The Dead house is a tent near some dark evergreens, one coffin in it, & a bier & stretchers lying near, looked so lonely & sad. No body speaks loud, & they looked so wishful towards, some need bedding, & clothing, others nourishing food. I helped Mrs. M. distribute the things. It was enough to move a stone to see them. Some Rochester boxes had just arrived. Saw a man from Kingston N.Y. These mules go up the hill and down at break neck speed, & a common wagon wd. have been made a wreck of.—Mrs. M. is from Albany, her husband has lived in Honeoye N.Y. Their property is in Ga. & now they keep boarders here. The Emancipation Act freed their Slaves. Dolly, a little thing about 3 yrs. old, a pet of theirs she took with us & the soldiers carried her about, as we went around among the tents.

Mrs. M. said she reared[?] her mother, she was dead & they love Dolly as well as if she was their own child. She is afraid that when Dolly grows up she will leave her.

She is mad at the Eman. Act, & furious against the Abolitionists, & "the nigger sh. not have been allowed to make this war". &c. —But "she will do all she can to help the poor soldier."

Sunday 26th.

Pouring Rain all day. Sorted my things, wrote to Mrs. Barnes & Father. Mr. Leighton called to see me. Day entirely too short.

Monday Oct. 27th.

Rainy morning, pleasant day. Went to P.O. no letter from Joe yet, Mr. Channing called. Went to Head Quarters, showed my letter from Gen. B. to Gen. W. & asked him if that is what he supposed Gen B. wd. give me. He said "No, but you go to Alex. & then see me again!" Got a pass from the Provost Marshal for one month, "to go & back from Alex. on important business. — Fixed[?] for the rain & mud. I went into the White House with my coarse garden shoes and Cotton umbrella. Saw famous East Room, it has 8 mirrors, & 3 chandeliers, & a beautiful ceiling, red & yellow damask, & lace curtains. Sofas & arm chairs cushioned with red.

The carpet is beautiful. 2 white marble mantels with grates. Another smaller room is papered with green & yellow, curtains, carpet & chairs to match. Very elegant all. — Then went to rooms of Sanitary Commissioner 244 F. St. then to Mrs. Munson's, wrote 6 letters, & had chat with Miss Bohle, so tired.

Tuesday Oct 28th.

Went to Alexandria with Mr. C. in boat wh. leaves every hour for 25 cts. River very broad here, cd. see long bridge. This is a drawbridge & a railroad bridge. We cd. see the Capitol, Wash^{tn} Mon, Observatory, Navy yd, Arsenal, Lunatic Asylum, Armory sq. Hospital, Fort Washington on one side. On the other Arlington Heights & the famous Arlington House, Forts Albany & Richardson. Fairfax Seminary, & encampments all around on the hills. River alive with vessels. Alex. is an old dirty town. Saw Marshall House where Ellsworth was killed. Went to old School House, where there are 150 contrabands. The sick have been removed to a fine dwelling house near, wh. has been occupied by Soldiers who have defaced it much.

Mr. Whipple, formerly a Quarter Master looks after these sick as well as he can, although not employed to do so. He showed us this hospital. In the first room we entered were people & piles of rags. A dead child lay wrapped in a piece of ticking, the mother was crouched over a few coals beneath a fine white marble mantel. In another room full of folks and rags, a dead child lay on the floor, behind the door. In some rooms were women & children famishing for want of nourishing food & medicine. No physician or medical

stores are provided. No super^{nt}— They have rations, & shelter. & a few kind men do the rest.

We went to the old Slave pen, & no description can give an adequate idea of the filth & misery here, in some rooms we cd. not stay a minute. I asked a women if she had rather be here than where she came from. She said 'Yes', I asked Why? Said she "one of my sons they sold to Alabama, "another to Ga. The hired me out, & when I came home they had sold my youngest, my little one, & then it pears like I did'nt care when I went." Oh! dear, how long? Oh! Lord how long.

What sighs & groans have gone up to God from this place, how many broken hearts have come & gone from here. This is Birch & Price's Slave Pen [Transriber's Note: added, it seems in pencil] wh. may yet be seen on the door. The prison is now used to confine disorderly soldiers, it was full. In that hospital was a white woman, to all appearance & her children had white curly hair—A family of Marylanders live in a part of the house & take care of things a little. There were girls & young women that were positively beautiful. — We visited a colored school kept by Robinson & Parker, 2 rooms full of girls & young women. It appears as well as any white school wd. have done in such a crowded place. Alexandria Heights are west of the city. Here is Fort Ellsworth & the Convalescent Camp, where stay thousands of men. 16000 at one time. I found some Mich. men, 2nd of Joe's Company. 1000 N.Y. men here. —They fare hard. The rain of sunday made it very uncomfortable. They need blankets & clothes. From these heights is a magnificent view. They overlook entirely the 3 cities, several forts, on each side of the river. Fairfax Seminary once a great Theological

Institution, now a hospital. Encampments all around on the hills, troops marching & bayonets glistening. Most of the hills have been cleard, & the space between the city & these Heights once a meadow probably, is now a base of verdure, part of it as a house floor. The Camp for paroled prisoners is here, & altogether it is a remarkable sight. This was a long walk, & we were glad to ride up from the landing on this side. A secesh woman left the Omnibus in great disgust when a federal uniform entered it. Wednesday Oct. 29th.

Fine. Went to Headquarters. Saw Gen. W. & told him what I saw in Alex. He said Gen. B. had gone to N.Y. & Gen. Heintzelman was in his place & we cd. get nothing from him. Gen. Slough would not be likely to help us, he said "Oh, these politicians, they are so afraid they will be called Abolitionists that they will not touch this Contraband question." Thought I had better go to Sec. Stanton, so he wrote a note & I went to Sec. of War. The room was full of men waiting for an audience. I said if he would have

more leisure at some other time I wd. wait. Said he, "It is just so from morning till night, Sundays & all", good time as any." I told in as few words as possible what I had come

for. Said he "put it in writing. I did so, stating their wants in Alex. He looked at it & said "it shall be attended to." But I have not much faith in him, he is so important & pompous! Some N.Y. men were telling him of some abuses wh. they wanted rectified. Said the Sec. "I wish the N.Y. men wd. let <u>us</u> manage this war." & sharp words passed between them. I was glad to get away.

Gen W. gave me a pass to Fort Ethan Allen & Camp Seward, & placed at my disposal for the day the Ambulance & driver that are detailed for his use, for when the Gen. is in a hurry he rides in an Ambulance. —Miss Bohle went with me. We went through Georgetown, over the Chain Bridge, wh. is guarded by cannon, the river is narrow here. much of the bed is dry, but the bridge extends from bank to bank. The roads are broken & cut up by Army wagons & are very rough. Our driver was a perfect Jehu & it was only by great exertion that we cd. keep in the seat.

It was a hard road up to the Heights where the Fort is situated. This is one of the best Forts. It mounts 15 or 20 guns, has a trench & an abattis of felled trees, tops outward. Fort Marcy is near. I found Lewis W. & James Root & James Root & Rob^t. Scofield of Chili. They were very glad to see me. I had some things for L. wh. his mother sent to him. Then I had some hospital store wh. I was told were not needed at the hospital, so I left the pickles & grapes with the boys & brought the toast back to Mrs. Munson.—It was a rough ride, but one that I wd not have missed for any thing. I was so tired that I cd. do nothing when I came back. These boys are in 4th. NY. Heavy Artillery, Say, they fare well.

Thursday Oct. 30th.

Fine. Mr. C. called. has a letter of introduction to Lewis McKenzie Mayor of Alex. from Jas. Hallowell. Found I had left my letters at office of Sec. of War. —I went there, & was told they were on the table in his private room, & wd. have to wait till he came out. After a while he came out with Gen. Dix, & went away, & we were told the Pres.

had sent for him and they cd. not tell when he wd. return. I had a seat & did very well, but several gentlemen took it out standing, while waiting an hour & a half. I saw Gen. Cluseret, the foreigner, with orders on his breast, & interesting looking man. When the Sec. came, he was told what I wanted, said he "Give them to her." It was done & I <u>put out</u>. Hope I shall not have to go there again.

Then I took a walk around LaFayette Sq. & the Treasury building. Went almost to Washington Monument, wh. is surrounded by shantys & a cattle yd. Went to the Smithsonian & saw rare curiosities. There was the fur dress worn by Dr. Kane, 6 Egyptian mummies, Things from Sandwich Isl. & Fujie Isl. such headdresses & things as I have seen in pictures of the Savages. Various things from the Indians of the N.W. & from China & Japan. An Aquarium with a Japan Salamander. Com. Perry presented many things. There were birds & birds nests & eggs, beasts, fishes, fossils, minerals shells & marine wonders. Sulphur specimens, Piece of rock on wh. Capt. Cook was Killed Ball from

Capitol wh. has been struck by lightning. Roman Sarcophagus. —Plank of Redwood three from Cal. Mass of Copper from Ontonagon wh. costs U.S. \$5,674. It was a Sacrificial Stone, & Father somebody tells of a young girl sacrificed on it. There is an immense seal & corals. I must visit this place again. The building is fine, all open & free to the public. The grounds are very extensive. —This morning I saw an artillery train going north, W. It was quite a sight, so tired, but after dinner went to Capitol, long walk there, I had supposed I was quite near it. I did not try to see much but mean to spend some time there & see it all.

Friday, Oct. 31st, 1962.

Did not go to Alex. this morning as I expected. Been to P.O. twice but get no letters yet. Have surveyed the Capitol leisurely inside & out. A police[?] man showed me the new Sen. Cham. & Hall of Rep. — But I went over it all again with a lady & gentlemen, & went onto the Dome as far as it is finished. Magnificent view.

Saw a white marble Stairway, & the stairways of Tennessee Marble of a Chocolate color, & stained glass ceiling. President's Room & old sen. Chamber are locked & I did not see them. New Sen. Cham. & Hall. of Rep. are similar only the Hall is larger. —How elegant, stained glass ceiling. —Old Hall of Rep. has 26 Cor. pillars of Potomac marble. Over the Entrance is the Muse of History in a winged car (marble) wh. J.Q. Adams once so eloquently referred to. Nearly all the statuary is in this hall now. Crawford, "Justice, Law & Order, scales &c. Schoolmaster teaching a boy, wood chopper, Indian, & woman & child. Marble from Lee, Mass. The paintings in the rotunda are 4 by Trumbull.

Viz: 1 Declaration of Independence 1776}

- 2 Surrender of Burgoyne to Gates 1777}
- 3 Surrender of Cornwallis to Lincoln 1781}
- 4 Washington resigning his sword 1785}
- 5 {Embarcation of Pilgrims by Rob^t. W. Wier, 1620
- 5 {Miles Standish & his wife Rose, Mr, & Mrs. White. El. Brewster & wife & sick child. Minister Robinson &c, all very fine.
- 6 Landing of Columbus 1492, by Vanderlyn.
- 7 Discovery of Miss. River by De Soto 1541—by W. H. Powell.
- 8 Baptism of Pocahontas 1631 by Chapman.
- 9 Washington at Yorktown giving orders for Entrenchments, La Fayette &c. by Rembrandt Peale, very fine, other paintings by Healy, A statue of Washington from Va, 1788, in 12th. year of the Commonwealth. Then in niches above these paintings is very fine statuary, groups in high relief. Whole length of Capitol is 751 ft. 4 in. Length of wings including steps 324 ft,

Width of wings 142 ft.

Width of old Capitol 352 ft.

Height of dome above basement floor 264 ft. area of ground actually covered 3 ½ acres The dome is all of iron & is to be surmounted by a statue of the Goddess of Liberty, 20 ft. high, weighing 17000 lbs. It is now in the Cap. Grounds, bronze, made by Clarke at Bladensburg. Cartoon front is very fine. Portico Corinthian columns, all paintd pure white, there are Statues of Columbus &

Indians, Minerva & Mars; —At work upon all parts of it, & cleaning & painting it. 1100 sick soldiers have been here till about 3 wks. since. It is an immense & magnificent pile of white marble & acres of marble are now lying near, to enlarge & improve it, it is carved after it is brought here. In the ground East[?] is Greenough's Statue of Washington.—The Justice Entrance is approachd by 65 steps[?]. There is a stone basin with beautiful fish in it. In the grounds are fountains, noble trees, and seats under many of them. It is so warm that people are sitting in the shade here, & children are playing all about. —I staid here & looked it over & over again for fear I may not see it again. — Then went to the Botanical Gardens. Saw Palm from E.I.; Zebra Plant from Brazil; Lovely Lily from E.I.; Fan Palm from W.I., Plantain tree, India; Banana fruit & blossom; Date Palm, Palestine; Rope Plant, S.A.; Screw Pine, arrow Root, S.A. Ginger, E.I. Queen plant & flower C. of G. Hope; Paper plant (Papyrus) of Egypt; like coarse grass—

Bread tree, Brazil; Sago Palm China, &c. Oh! that some of my friends cd. be here with me. Am very tired to night, conclude not to go out again, but get a good rest for the morrow.

Washington Nov, 1st, Saturday—

Fine. Took 11° clock boat for Alex. with Mr. C. Pleasant ride, went to office of Capt. Wyman Provost Marshal of Alex. Sends letter to Com. Burge as follows: Provost Marshal's Office,

Alex. Va. Nov, 1st. 1862.

Mr. Burge, You will furnish Miss Wilbur with all the information you may possess in regard to the Contrabands under your direction, & furnish her with any assistance you can to Enable her to visit them. She is authorized by me to act in the Capacity of visitor, advisor, & instructor to the Contrabands. You will also furnish issue to her daily rations of the regular kind.

Capt. John C. Wyman Met Rev. Mr. Gladwin, who is doing all

he can by way of assisting, in schools, taking care of the sick, &c. Went to Mr. Geo. Seaton's & took dinner, with Mr. Whipple & Mr. G. Went to Wolfe St. Hospital. Saw Mr. Sleght & son, from N.Y. —Went to Convalescent Camp, took a few things to those Mich. boys, talked some time with them. They dislike to stay there very much. Many of

them suffer for want of bedding. Heard an order read for all the members of Hooker's, Slocum's, McDowell's, Porter's & Burnsides Corps to report themselves at head quarters next morning. This looks as if something wd. be done. Met in Alex. Chap. May of the 2^d. Mich. Saw Joe a few days since, & expects to go to his regiment next Monday. Will call on me this eve. in W. & take a package for Joe. Spoke very highly of Joe, says he ought to be promoted. Singular that I met him as I did. Distinguished looking man. In going to Con. Camp saw the 12th & 13th Vt. Reg^{ts}. marching South. Called on Rob^t. Bell. Treated us coldly when he learned our business, wh was to inquire for a boarding place for my self, as we

had been recommended to him. Queer specimen of the Quaker variety. In Omnibus saw Col. Willis of 24th. Mass. acquaintance of Mr. C's. Has been in 10 battles, never received a scratch. I expect to go to Alex. to live in a day or two. Dont mean to be afraid of the secesh. Chap. May does not come. I fear he has forgotten my number. —

Sunday Nov. 2^d, 1862

Very warm & bright. This A.M. went to hear Dr. Gurley, from 2 Cor. 4-18. "For the things that are seen are temporal &c. He refuses to pray for the President, & is notoriously a secesh, & has a secesh audience, there were some Soldiers present, happened in like myself perhaps. He prayed that "our rulers may be kept from erroneous judgment, from misleading prejudices & unwise counsels. "Not a word against rebellion, nothing a rebel or a secesh cd. object to. This P.M. heard Martial music, another regiment leaving probably, saw a large gun going N. to day. Saw funeral leaving Catholic, bearers wore long white hat bands, also the drivers of the hacks. ——

Washington, Nov. 3^d.

Cold, Windy, & dusty. City more unpleasant than ever. Always dirty I think. Called to see Mr. C. Then went on 10° clock boat to Alex. Met two steam boats loaded with Soldiers. Back at Alex. full of paroled prisoners.

Called at Mr. Mays, but they can take no boarder. Called at Mrs. Reed's, Mrs. Ware's & Mrs. Shacklefords. At last went to Mr. Seatons & engaged board, to go there Wednesday. I cant do any better now. What an undertaking! Got back here at 3 P. M. Since dinner, have been out shopping, got a cork to a vial & that was given to me. Am very tired & have a bad cold. —

Tuesday Nov. 4th.

Fine went to Patent Office. Saw Mr. Van S. & Mr. A. Chester & Mr. J Dennis, introduced to an Ohio Gov. Dennis wishes me to receive a box from Cayuga Co. gave me some provisions[?] & took me to the rooms of the Boston Tract Soc. —Called on Mrs. Munson. Went to Patent Office again. Mr. Chester

went with me to see the curiosities, & through the hospital. Such a sight I never saw before. Those interminable halls are filled with beds & sick men. But how nice & clean they all looked. —Mr. C. left me & then I looked over things leisurely. The thousands of models I did not stop to see, but there was a Coat & Epauletts worn by Gen. Jackson at battle of N. Orleans. Commission to Geo. Washington Esq. Declaration of Independence. Original. 2 Rebel Torpedoes from Columbus, Apr. 1862. Diamond hilted sword from Viceroy of Peru. Persian Carpet 30 ft. by 15 ft. from Imaum of Muscat, horse covers from same.

6 Cashmere Shawls red, white & green from Imaum of Muscat. 1840. One of these \$1200. Examined in 1853 & free from moths. Sabers from Egypt.

2 guns from Emperor of Morocco to Thos. Jefferson. Ivory cane made of single tooth to J. Q. Adams. Treaties & Autographs of Kings and Emperors. —Washington Relics from Arlington House, 1862, an

Sleeping tent (linen twilled) poles & pins, Cabinet, hall Lantern from Mt. Vernon. Vases presented by Vaughn to W.

3 pieces of China presented to Martha Washington by LaFayette. Name of the States on them. Treasure chest of iron. Table & washstand inlaid. China wash bowl. Port manteau used at Y. town, 1781. Andirons, Teapot white & green. Blue & white China presented by offices of Cincinnati. Counterpane. Candelabra from Rochambeau. Coat, Vest & breaches when he resigned his commission 1783. War sword & old leather belt. Writing case used in all his Campaigns. Cane presented by Franklin to W.

Camp equipage, Copper urns, iron saucepan, iron forks & plates, either pewter or iron. Medium Chest. Bellows, Chairs & table. Teaboard wh. he imported from France. Bureau & oval mirror from Arlington House, Silk breeches & kerry vest & breeches, some of them were presented by Geo. W. Custis. Others were brought from them when the Army took possession of Arlington House.

Presents from Japan are 15 silk robes 3 white ones, 2 red ones, 2 plaid ones, & several flowered ones. Screens, Swords, Saddle, bridle & trappings for horse, the last of red silk, fringe ³/₄ yd. long. Saddle tree, stirrups & 2 shields. —

Took long walk round by old Capitol prison & saw prisoners looking through grates. Went to Caspari Hos. & saw Dr. Hurd, showed me through it, looked very comfortable. Called on Mrs. Munson, tired enough. —

Wednesday Nov. 5th.

Cloudy, Left W. on 10° clock boat. & at 11 was at 69 St. Asaph St. South. Alex Va., bag & baggage. Oh, dear. What a place! How can I stay here. This P.M. I have written some but it is so uncomfortable here. —

Thursday, Nov. 6th.

Cloudy, cold. Called on Commissioner Burge, & Mr. Pierce who is from Rochester, & is a partial acquaintance. —These deal cut rations to the Contrabands. —I went home with a woman. In one of the worst old tenements I ever saw. I

went up stairs wh. were dangerous to mount, in a room lighted only by vents & cracks, were 3 women & 13 children, one very sick, being badly burnt. In another room was a woman & 7 children, some of the mothers were away to work. One said "When Master heard the Unions was coming, he tried to get away all the children & women. Twas in the night while he was putting them into wagons. She took her 3 children & run, without waiting for clothes. One child in her arms was nearly naked. She walked 6 mi. that night in the woods, dragging the other 2 little ones along. Her Master was Jevy[?] Moden[?], Congressman at W. recon youve heerd on him. He said before he wd. let one of his niggers be free he wd. put them into a barn & burn them all up. He told them if they went to the Yankees they wd. starve in 3 days, & they wd. sell them to Hayti.— One woman said she did not wait for a bonnet or anything; she brought away 6 children, 3 of her own & 3 of her sisters who was dead. She fell down twice & hurt the one she carried so that it died after she got here. In another room in the ground floor was an old woman & several children. She wanted some planks

to make a bedstead, she lies on the floor at night. it is damp & her bones ache so in the morning. When I told her about what I had come here for, said she "The Lord bless you, may you live forever." & an old man that was standing there went into raptures.—I went & told Mr. Burge of this. He said if he cd. get a load of planks he wd. but he did not know that he cd.

I then went to the Slave pen, one quite comfortable room there, it had been scrubbed & things were put away snug. One woman here had 4 children who like herself wore gray frocks, all whole & decent. She was a well appearing person.—

In another room with one window were 20 women & children, several sick ones, a little fire that only a few cd. get near at once. It had a brick floor, was damp & filthy, oh! horrible! I went into several rooms & staid till I felt sick, then came home to dinner, & since then I have been to see the old woman & took her a pair of stockings. But little can be done for them until they have better places to live in.

These people came with an army when it retreated from Fredericksburg, Winchester, Culpepper & Manassas. They were "walked very fast, & the children tired out, & were afterwards sick from the fatigue & hardships of the march. They say the Union told them to come along, & they were used well[?] by the Soldiers.

Friday Nov. 7th 1862

Cold, windy. Snowed all day. What will these poor creatures do? I have no disposition to go & see them today, for I have no way to relieve them. Mr. Gladwin says he knows of

one place where these people stay where the roof is burnt off, & there is nothing between them & the heavens above. But may these not be all the nearer to the all seeing eye of the Good Father? I have written 5 letters & been to P.O. twice but get no letters yet.

Saturday 8th. Nov. 148 wks. since my darling was taken from me. pleasant. Snow all gone, very muddy now. Have not seen the wont[?] till to day. I went to Commissarys. Mr. B. has succeeded in getting 3 loads of wood and he wantd wants 20 to distribute at once.—I went to Pitt

St. & went into an Irish hole, 4 children & a sick women. The filthiest children, & filthiest place I ever saw. Met a colored woman who showed me where the Contrabands live.

I found them in places unfit for brutes to live in. Many rooms had no windows, some no chimnies, & fire was built on a pile of stones, & room full of smoke. I went up a ladder to one place & was afraid when I got there that I cd. not get down again.

Some places were nearly full of people, sick children, measles, whooping cough. In one place a young[?] woman lay near a door, nothing to break the wind[?] off. She was quite sick. Said "she had such a misery in her stomach."—Such buildings as these wd. be allowed to remain in no northern city. Some are merely sheds, may have been stables. But I have come to the conclusion that it is in some of these places where the slaves have lived, for many of these rooms have fire places in them where you may wonder that a fire place was ever needed, for they look like nothing that a human being sh. inhabitant. — Some of them have no windows, all dark when the door is shut.

In none of these was there any thing that looked like a bed. old rags & nothing else was to be seen.— I have seen no place that that I can compare these to, that is, the rooms. You might think that they were old places used to store plaster or something else. but one of them will contain 8 or 10 rooms perhaps, & each has a fireplace. It must be slaves have lived here. I must find out. In one large room lives a woman who has every thing as clean as need be. She is not a Contraband, has lived here a long time & washes for a living. I'll ask her some time.—This part of the city is called Fishtown. There is a railroad here, & men are all about here. It is a miserable place in more senses than one. It is near the river on low ground. —Can I go there again? The thought of doing so makes me sick. To give clothing or bedding to people in such places, wd. be like throwing it away, Dr. Ripley has been appointed physician to these people but he attend to other practices besides, so they dont get much attention. Wonder if this is by order of Sec. of War?

Sunday 9th.

Fine. Cleaned myself as well as I cd. & wrote rest of day. have not been out at all. Several new boarders here, one young man from near Buffalo, came

to get sick friend discharged. On Vt. man came to get his son discharged. —Oh! what a state of things!

Monday Nov. 10th.

Fine, like Indian Summer. Dreamed last night of seeing Frances & she told me that Freda was dead. I was in great distress. To-morrow it will be 140 wks. since I have seen my darling little one, since that heartless woman dragged her from my presence. Oh! dear, will I ever see her again!

No letters yet. What does it mean? This morning called at colored school. This P.M. took long walk. on Cameron St. is the church where Washington used to worship, a very quaint old church, over grown with ivy, & surrounded by a grave yd. gates locked. Called on Mrs. May, saw several ladies there. —

M^cClellan has been superseded by Burnside. What is up now? Is the way being cleared to make M^cC. Commander in Chief? We have fallen on evil & discouraging times if such is the case, & yet there are men who think that the existence of the nation depends, upon "All-quiet-along-the-Potomac's being continued in Command of the Army.

Alexandria Va. Nov. 11th. 1862

Beautiful weather. —Some gardens are green yet & roses are in blossom, & chrysanthemum &c. Some of the large 3 story brick dwellings are half covered with ivy. In the summer there must be much here that is beautiful.—1 P.M. no letters yet. I have been to the old school house. I can just make out over the door. "The Washington Lancastrian School July 1812." —One long room & a smaller one. I saw a coffin taken into the small room. I looked in, a man was lying dead, dressed just as he died probably, he was laid into the coffin by two men. it was closed at once, taken out & placed into a wagon & driven off. No body seemed to care. no funeral service. he came here last Saturday & died last night.

A colored man was teaching some children the alphabet, out in the sun, the women were washing. I cd. remain but a few minutes, the atmosphere was sickening. I took a walk to get refreshed, & called on a family, that I visited last Saturday. The mother sat in the corner washing & nursing a 3 days old baby. She said "it was mighty fretful in the night." She has been a field

hand, done all kinds of work that men do, lived but a few miles from here. Is the mother of 9 children, & she told me how slave mothers manage with their children. I remarked that all the children I saw were very quiet. Said she, we don't make so much of them as white folks do, after one month we have to leave them, see them about twice in a day. So I try to have mine get used to it before I leave them. I am broken down. I have had mighty abusements when I have been hired out. After the crops were got in, then they chopped and hauled wood all winter & she has staid & worked all day in March with the snow over her feet. Said I, that is a nice baby. What will you name him? "Abe Linktern, ma'am. He was born in a big time, he is a big boy & he must have a big name." Old & young master are both dead nobody but grandchildren left, & she is not afraid of them, of

what misery has that women's life been made! I have reason to hate slavery more every day I live. Mr. Gladwin has just come from W. Things are topsy turvy there. Gen Wadsworth is to take the field. The fugitive Slave law has been enforced & a man

& woman have been put in jail & will be returned to slavery in Md. — Gen. W. is gone & there is no help for them. how long, Oh! Lord, how long?

Went with Mr. Gladwin & Mr. Dubois to Convalescent Camp in Ambulance. My first ride in Alexandria. So rough, cd. hardly stay on the seat. 1000 sick men have come from Harper's Ferry. Poor fellows, have seen hard times there, & will see harder times here perhaps, but one of them said they cd. see nothing worse than they had seen. Some of the 108th. N.Y. army among them. one of the 13th. N.Y. where folks I know, from Chili. took tracts & papers, but had not half enough.

Near this is the Stragglers Camp, & the recruiting Camp, & the Camp for paroled prisoners. As we went there we saw in another camp a Conn. Reg^t. in dress parade. They looked fine. We did not stay long. I mean to go again & stay longer & see the Mich. men. Saw one of the 17. Mich.

This evening been to meeting at old s. house, several white men spoke & several col^d. men, one minister on name[?] who has just succeeded, after secreting himself 11 wks, in getting to Alex. He is from near Rappahannock Station.

Told about his conversion. "He was the most onspeakable man till he was brought to Consideration. We left them singing!

"Heavenly land, heavenly land

"Just got over to our heavenly land.

This was all but they kept on singing it as if they wd. never stop. What a scene! The long, wide room dimly lighted. What they call their beds were full of women & children. no noise but coughing. A number had come in from other houses & sat with their bonnets on & this is life in Alexandria!

Wednesday Nov. 12th. 1862

Cloudy. This morning went with Mr. Gladwin & Mr. Whipple to the school house. Oh! such a sickening sight. Many of them were eating. A man died this morning & lay in the small room. A coffin came & he was carried off in 2 hrs. perhaps after he died. I dont like the way Mr. W. & Mr. G. speak to those women. They dont treat them as women, I am vexed & provoked at what I have seen today. Then we went to the house where the sick are. some are getting better.

There were 3 dead children to day. Mr. G. gave orders to a colored man to make a prayer over one or two of them & that was that was done.

I cd. not see any more. I went back & found a note from Joe, saying the sutter of their Reg^t. was here & wd. take any parcel I wd. send, so I hastened with the things to Mrs.

May's, & wrote a few lines to him, but I fear they will not reach him. —Went to Commissary's. Find that my rations wd be.

3/4 lb. pork, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. beef

1 lb. 6 oz. flour or 1 lb. bread

 $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. rice, — $\frac{1}{2}$ gill beans

2 oz. sugar — 1½ oz. Coffee

³/₄ in. of candle, cake of soap 1 in. square.

Molasses & potatoes are extra rations.

But the question is, how can I make them available? I am not Yankee enough yet to do it. Mr. Burge told some discouraging things about these people. Yet I sh. not be discouraged, for I have ever known that that slavery is not favorable to the development or promotion

of the social or Christian virtues. —Yet I am vexed with what I have heard & seen. While I was there a large number of soldiers from Harper's Ferry passed on their way to the Convalescent Camp, although some of them did'nt where they were going. When I came out some of them were straggling along to weak to keep up, one young man sat down on the P.O. steps. It seemed that I must speak to him. He was of the 108th. Geo. Smith from Irondequoit, & told me of White & Vinton, one at Loudon Heights, the other at hospital at Harper's Ferry. —This has made me homesick more than any thing else I have met. — When I returned found Mr. C. has been here, so sorry I cd. not see him.

No letters from home yet. —

Thursday Nov. 13th.

Letters from Frances & Mary & Mrs. Barnes. All well but baby, he gets better very slowly. M. says I would not know him now. She is with Frances now. Mrs. Barnes writes a cheery, encouraging letter. These have done me much good.

I have called at Mrs. May's to leave a note for Joe, & at Mrs. Kimball's to see if she will take me, but she has no room for me. What shall I do? I cant make up my mind to stay here this winter. Have written several letters. A fine soft Indian Summer day. —No war news.

Friday Nov. 14th, 1862

Fine weather. —Went with Mr. Warwick to Convalescent Camp, saw those Mich. men & left them some pickles. —Went to Stragglers Camp. Found 4 of the 13th. & 1 of the 9th. Charles Smith of Chili, whose parents I know went round with me & we found several of the 108th. from Rochester & W. N.Y. —These last are lately from H. Ferry & all sick. The 13th. were sitting at a table & eating a good dinner. but they were in an officers tent, he being absent. — looked at all the headboards in their burying ground. One grave open ready for an occupant. A large no. of men were just coming in as I left. Is there no end to the numbers of sick men? I looked around on the grand prospect for a while. Those

hills & plains whitened with tents is to me a sad sight. A woman came there to look for a man in the 72^d. Penn. She thought he was among the. H. Ferry men. Had been to H.F. & not found him.

The headquarters here is a brick house, a matron here & I think there have been beautiful grounds around it once. & somebody probably had a pleasant home, & there is a grave yd. near with iron fence, but a part of it is broken away. There is not a fence to be seen in what were once fields. These Heights have been cleared of the trees, & nearly of the stumps. No wood now only what they hack off the stumps. But the 19th. Conn. the Pro. Guard of the City encamped just below the hill have a good supply of wood & the place is a model of neatness. Got a pass from the office of Gen. Slough this morning, & saw the Gen. It is a large brick house on this St. —There were 2 parlors. Two elegant Chandeliers remained, & beautiful portraits & pictures in gilt frames were still hanging there. The occupants have left in such haste that they cd. not take the family portraits.

I came back alone at my leisure & stopped at the Slave pen. Talked with Catherine Jennings & saw some of their sick & brought away a piece of brick from the Pen of "Price, Birch & Co. Dealers in Slaves." —Went to Commissary's. Mr. B. tells me that carpenters are at work, repairing some houses for the Contrabands. This is an indication that Gov^t. will erect no new buildings for them. Discouraging. Several new ones arrived this morning from Warrenton in the Cars. I have been talking with a man & his wife. His master moved his fat hogs last Sunday, & Monday he was to take his slaves off. —But these thought they wd. take themselves off. & the others could not believe they were to be sent south. The man reckons they are sorry enough by this time. These folks seem happy. They had to walk 12 mi. to the cars, & cd. bring no bedding & but little clothing.—

Hear that Mr. Griffin is in W. —Those slaves have been released from W. jail. —No particular war news. "All quiet."

Alex. Nov 15th

Fine. This morning, Mrs. Winsor went with me to the S.H. & Hos. A dead child in the S.H. & a dead woman in the Hos. We did what we cd. to relieve a several poor women & then went to see the old woman who wants a bed stead & has not got it yet. This P.M. wrote and called at Mrs. K's. —

Sunday Nov. 16th.

Couldy, cold. This A.M. went with Mrs. Winsor to the old Church on Cameron St. where Washington used to worship. It is a quaint old brick building, with a sort of tower at one end, one side of the ch. is nearly covered with ivy. It is surround in one corner of a grave yard, filled with old sunken & broken tombstones, some erected in the latter part of the last century, & others in the early part of this. Fine[?] trees are growing there. The church has been kept in repair & in the paint & varnish are very thick. The windows are small 18 lights of small glass, no gallery, only for the organ & quire choir. The slips are as we

have them now, Except the one occupied by Washington that is twice as large as the others

& in a silver plate is engraved Washington, Pew. We were theew early, & sat awhile in the pew. The red cushions look quite old. Government took possession of this Ch. for the soldiers use as the secesh churches here dont like to admit Soldiers.

The Episcopal Chaps. officiate. There was a long service, & then Mr. Bowman read a discourse on Music. it was more particularly for the choir. It showed learning & culture & was a finished discourse. Nothing adapted to the wants of Soldiers in particular but few were there. There were also a few citizens present. When they had a religious governor here, He attended this ch. & his example filled the ch. with Soldiers. Gen. Slough is not a religious man.

This P.M. went with Mrs. W. & her husband to the burying Ground. What sad sights I saw. It comprises several large squares. Each enclosed & with streets between them. The first one we went into has been an old burying place. Many stones are standing, some good ones & of late date, but they have made graves for soldiers here in any

& every part of it. I think they often dig into others. Some of the Soldiers graves have head boards & some are not marked at all. A few have nice stones. The Contrabands are also buried here. The next part we went into had but few graves. Here was a colored funeral. Nice coffin, very respectable looking people, & came in hacks. Then are many old looking & neglected places. A few fine monuments but many common ones & some vaults. Hunting Creek empties into the Potomac near this & it is very wide. but a road is made partly through it & there is a bridge over the middle & deepest part. From this side of the B. Ground we have an extensive view. We see some of the Convalescent Camp. & the other camp near, Fairfax Sem, Fort Ellsworth & Fort Lyon. Not a fence to be seen except that around the burying ground, & none of the land cultivated. Across the Creek the Slopes are bare in some places, & beaten roads are all over the hills. Now & then an old Va. Mansion, trees mostly cut down. They tell me nearly all this

tract was covered with Encampments before the Potomac Army went to Manassas last April. What a scene it is now! In another part of the B. Ground was a citizen's funeral. There were very elegant hacks & drivers with long black hat bands.

Then the sound of muffled drums & martial music came near us. This was a Soldier's funeral. A large space has been enclosed for a Soldiers burying ground, about 100 graves in a row, & there are several rows. Each with a head board with the name of & no. of the Reg^t except now & then one marked "Unknown". This is a sad sight. The poor fellow that was now brought to occupy the six feet of Va. soil, was a N.H. Vol. I suppose as the Co. was N.H. men. A Chaplin read the service. Three volleys were fired, & the cheap

coffin with its occupant, who died so far from friends, & home, the news of which will make some heart ache probably. 8 or 9 other graves were dug & ready for & before this was over another funeral came & waited at the entrance till they cd. move out of the way, but few men

with this one who had died in a hospital. It was as busy & stirring all about these grounds as it is in the city.—I never saw any thing like it, of course. Oh! Slavery! What desolation, & sorrow it has carried throughout the land.—This evening have been to col^d. meeting.

Monday 17th, Nov.

Cloudy & rainy. Virginia Seaton died this morning very suddenly after an illness of a few day wh. was not thought to be dangerous. The eldest child & in her 15th. year. They feel it very deeply, as they are an affectionate family. —I cannot realize that there is death in the house although I saw her die. She is laid out prettily & placed in an elegant Coffin in the parlor below.

I have been through the Wolfe St. Hos. to day, been through the 3 buildings. Quaker meeting house & oh, oh, dear . no end to trouble & distress. Some so sick that they realize but little, others better, or nearly well. I wish these all knew how well off they are here, while so many in other places are suffering so much. from neglect and other causes. —With Mr. W. & Mrs. W.

went to Fish town. Mr. W. tired out before we saw all the places. Such filthy, dark, unwholesome, disgusting dens & holes as those human beings stay in is a shame & disgrace to a civilized County & all this in a town wh. is in Sight of the Capitol! of the Presidents House!

Have been to Mrs. K's this P.M. & have engaged to go there board at \$7 a week! Tuesday 18th.

Cloudy, Rainy No letters. Have been out with Mrs. W. for a walk, called to see some women at the hospital who are better. One old emaciated creation sat with her head on her knees. I asked her if she was better? "Oh! yes. A heap better. Said I "you have been taking something that has made you feel better? "no." Why Mr. W. gives you something every day dont he? 'No'. I said to another, is this woman so forgetful. why does she say so! The woman said Mr. W. gives you something every day. Then she said "I so weak I forgets." I'd stay in the room but a minute or two, the air was so bad. Did'nt venture into the school house this time

There is an unusual stir in the town this morning. Stores are being moved down the river to Aquia Ck. A body of Cars left & went south. Report says our Army are retreating from Manassas, & Stonewall Jackson is coming towards Alexandria. Some of the Colored folks are uneasy & some of the white ones too. I am not sure whether it is best to be

afraid or not. The citizens here wd. welcome the rebels most gladly. I have written most all the P.M. & hope I can get my letters off before the rebels get here.

To morrow P.M. the funeral of Virginia S. will take place.—

Alex. Wednesday Nov. 19th. 1862

This A.M. went to draw rations. Talked with several col^d. people. Virginia Seaton's funeral this P.M. I went with them to their burying ground. The ways of people are quite different from our ways. I am getting used to them however. City quiet today. No particular war news. Intend to leave this house to morrow to go to Ms. Kimball's on Duke St.

Alexandria Va.

November 19th 1862

⁵Diary.

Alexandria Va. Cor. Duke & Columbia *(sic)* Sts. Thursday evening Nov. 20th 1862.

Left 69 St. Asaph St. South this A.M. & find myself in new quarters at Mr. K.'s. A large house & full of boarders, but I don't see much of them. This P.M. there has been a pouring rain; how the soldiers will suffer, & those contrabands too who are in those wretched holes & hovels & dens. I have not been to see anybody today. This P.M. unpacked trunks for the first time since I left home. Our Army has left Warrenton & Manasses, & all the stores not needed now have been brought to Alex.— Citizens were not allowed to cross Long Bridge yesterday. Gov^t used it exclusively. Burnside has got beyond Fredericksburg, but we hear to day that there is danger of his being surrounded. This storm is unfortunate for "onward to Richmond." No forward movement till the fine weather was over. Oh! dear.

Friday Nov 21st. 1862

Rainy, & muddy; About 10 went with Mr. Gladwin & Mr. Whipple in an ambulance first to Slave Pen. They are finding out how many contrabands there are in order to report to headquarters, considerable Small Pox among them. Went into the Slave Prison among the Soldiers. What a shame to see so many in the Federal uniform in such a place. There are cells where the worst are confined. There were some dungeons under this floor where slaves were confined, but they were filled up a year ago, & there is a roof over the prison now. What a horrid place. Went to 3 tents where some men live who work on R.R. Then to another wretched place on Water St. Then to a large building on Cor. Columbis & King full of people. Then home to dinner, after wh. a Phil^a. gentleman went with us to Fishtown &c. we went into every place. That is Mr. G. & Mr. W. did, some small pox

⁵ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26002_001 to HC13-26002_053 in their Folder entitled Nov. 20, 1862 to May 13, 1863.

dens I did not go into, but staid outside. The Phil^a gentleman thought they would have to send some lumber from Phil^a. It is obvious to every one that some better buildings should

be made for them, & nothing much can be done until they are removed from these dark filthy places. It has been a hard day's work. The driver was mad because it was cold & rainy & he missed his dinner & he drove like vengeance over the worst places. He thinks "a white man is as good as a nigger if he behaves himself." The streets are very rough, & whenever we had to get out and walk it was very muddy. I am tired tonight. Two letters from Joe, last one Nov. 12th, Camp near Waterloo, 5 mi. from Warrenton, on the march. Report today that Burnside has been repulsed by the rebels.—

Saturday 22^d, Nov.

Pleasant, cool. Rose early. Left at 9 for Washington with Mr. G. in ambulance. While waiting for it, I sat in Pro. Marshalls Office, & saw the folks as they came for passes wh. were refused to many, for various reasons. It was a cold but interesting ride over Long Bridge &c. This is a railroad bridge & a dangerous one too, for it often breaks down. It is a drawbridge & narrow & when the cars are upon it, it is dangerous for teams.

Just as we got to the covered part, we met 2 reg^{mt} of Cavalry, & had to stop in the mud & wait till they all passed 2 abreast in this narrow way.—They looked rough & cold & hard used, going on to Burnside's army probably.—

We called at Mr. Clark's, & at Gen W's Headquarters. Gen W. has gone home for 2 wks. & Gen Martindale of R. is in his place, but he was out. Went to State Dept. & saw Mr. Baker. Then to see Mr. Van Santwood and Mr. Dennis. Then to Home for Contrabands. They have some new buildings, but from the looks of things they might as well have no Superintendent.— but where the 8th Cav. Co. M. Capt. Smith have been encamped, they were moving to a dry & better place, & had nearly all gone. Mr. Griffin & a few others were there yet, fortunately, but I cd. stay but a few moments. He is well and showed me where they wd. be after this in the new camp. Then went to Mr. Lake's & took dinner. Did not start to come back till nearly dark. When we got to Long Bridge, we were told that the draw was broken and we could not cross in 3 hrs, so the

only alternative was to go round by Georgetown & over the Aqueduct Bridge. Neither Mr. G nor the driver knew the way. No moon, not even a friendly star looked down upon us until we had crossed the bridge & were two or three miles this side of it. Then the clouds began to break away & it grew lighter as we came near Alex. No teams were coming this way but we met several. Mr. G. helped the driver who cd. not see very well to keep the road.—The lights of Geotown & W. & of the encampments looked beautifully across the river. — We came through Ft. Runyon, but it was so dark I cd. not make out much about it. — It was a cold, dark, [?] dangerous ride, but we got home safe

at last about 8 o'clock. — Burnside has had no engagement yet; he is near Fredericksburg.

Sunday Nov. 23^d

Fine, but cold. Have not felt like doing much. I am over the kitchen & it is so noisy that it makes my head ache. I am not sure but I shall get sick of this room. — Wrote letters.

A soldier's funeral passed this P.M. The music was very sad. Only a guard of 20 men attended the remains. Then a citizens funeral, a long procession & in elegant style. Mr. G. called. Has come in conflict with some of the S. House Contrabands, & has had one arrested. I am very sorry that such a thing has happened.

Monday Nov, 24th.

Fine. This A.M. went out with Mr. Warwick and Mrs. W. to School House and brick house & several other places. What destitution & suffering! Letters from E. Wing & E. Wilbur & C. Winans & A. Post & F. Douglass.— This P.M. called at two Secesh houses to beg some thing for a poor woman who is sick & half naked. One lady said "she had nothing for contrabands. They might have staid at their comfortable homes, with their kind masters, & those that brought them away might take care of them. If I had wanted any thing for poor white folk she wd. relieve them but had nothing for colored folks." The other lady asked "if she was col^d & a contraband, & said she might have staid at her

comfortable home; but she had just given away everything she had & had nothing now to give." But this lady was more pleasant about it than the other. This was Mrs. Daingerfield. She lives in elegant style.— The sight of the old emaciated black woman had made me brave, but my courage forsook me now & I did not continue my begging Excursion after this taste of the quality of the Secesh ladies.— Called to ask Dr. R. to go & see a very sick woman. He was not pleasant at all & gave me to understand that I need not come to him again, that Mr. G. & Mr W. wd. let him know when he was needed, & that he knew all about this woman, & I cd'nt tell him anything, but at the same time said he could'nt attend to a quarter of them & he needed two men to help him." I am disappointed in the man. I had hoped to find a humane & considerate & an approachable Dr, but I suppose I must let him alone after this. Mr. G. is sick today. His ride on Saturday was too much for him. I do not feel first rate myself.— I saw 2 funerals, one that

of a citizen, the other that of a soldier. The 2 processions went side by side & the contrast was very painful. The poor soldier in a cheap coffin, in a rude ambulance was attended to his last resting place in Va. soil by about 20 rough looking soldiers with arms reversed, a sad sight! But the citizen was in an elegant coffin, placed in a splendid hearse followed by the mourners in elegant hacks & a large number of people on foot. — Such are the sights in Alex. Called on Mrs. May. Joe is probably near Fredericksburg—

Tuesday 25th

Last night I was severely sick & slept but little. I thought of Typhus fever, & Small pox. Whenever I closed my eyes pale faces in blue uniforms & black faces with all conceivable features were all around me. I feel better to day but have only been to the P.O. Got several papers from home. Mr. Channing called & brought \$20 for the Contrabands.—

Wednesday 26th Nov.

Been to S. House & brick house. So much Small pox I shall be cautious as to where I go. Have written an appeal to Friends in G. Britain & Ireland — This P.M. J. Dennis of W. called with a Committee from the Friends in N.Y. This com. was Wm. Cromwell & Benj^{im}. Tatham. They wish to learn every thing in relation to the contrabands & are ready to help them.— Mr. Warwick called this evening & gave me an invitation to go to Paroled Camp to-morrow.

Thanksgiving in Virginia! Alexandria Va. Nov. 27th. 1862

The most interesting Thanksgiving day I have ever celebrated, & it was all so unexpected too. Cold, bright day. Froze some last night. About half past 9 a.m. started for Paroled Camp in Ambulance with Mr. Warwick, Mrs. Winsor & Misses Jennie & Nettie Kimball. I had not visited this Camp before and Mr. W. was to preach there to day & they were to celebrate Thanksgiving. I little thought

such a treat awaited me. I expected to be interested in seeing divine service performed in a Camp & nothing more, but we had been invited to dinner as well. The drive was invigorating, in spite of all the dead horses that we saw on our way. We reported at Headquarters & were introduced to Col. Gabriel Korpony, a Hungarian, com^{dg}. Camp of Paroled Prisoners. We were asked to make ourselves at home in his comfortable tent, & after a little he went with us to see the Hospital tents & store rooms Dispensary &c. We were introduced to Surgeon White, Chief Medical director & Dr. Warner. Then we waited in the tent till arrangements were made for the meeting & in the meantime Gen Slough & Lady arrived. She is a very ladylike person, & he is a fine appearing man.— There are 2000 men in this camp, 75[?] sick, & some on guard, but all the rest were drawn up in a hollow square 2 deep in the center was a large box covered with a

sheet for a table, & Mr. W. was mounted[?] on a bench, boards were laid on the ground & seats were provided for us ladies. About 20 men on the other side of the speaker led the singing. Gen Slough & wife, Col. Korpony & several officers joined in the singing. Before leaving the tent the Col. said he wished every officer to attend the service. One of them remarked that "he had not attended divine service in 7 yrs." But this same Capt. gave very respectful attention to Mr. W. —The service was very impressive to me. Some of these were rough, hard-looking men, & to see them under such circumstances, the

young & the middle aged reverently listening to the singing, praying & preaching. Before service cheers were given for the President, Gen. Slough & Mrs. Slough. After service an avenue was christened Mrs. Bell Slough & more cheers were given. Col. K. also addressed his men, in language half profane, half sacred, at once solemn & ludicrous. — He reminded the men

of the day, of their homes & their families & although he cd. not do anything in particular for them, he asked them earnestly to behave themselves. Mr. W. gives an instance wh. illustrates his character. He said "damn it, if I hear any of these men swear "I'll do so & so," & today as he entered the door I heard him swear. But he said "Excuse me, we have to talk sharp to these folks sometimes. A woman comes here & says "my men steal her wood & her cabbages" & they do no such thing. They come from the other camps & do it, but my men don't do so." The first thing he said was "It's no great pleasure to be a Col. I've have not slept hardly anything in 2 nights. I'm always writing discharges, since 5 o'clock yesterday I have signed my name 1200 times." Col. K. has command of all the paroled prisoners in the loyal states. All discharges are signed by him. A very fine lunch was prepared in the Mess room, & spiced with sparkling champagne. The officers were present. There were

some toasts & some little speeches. Gen S. is a man of few words, but he made a speech & in it said that he never was scared but once in his life & that was when he stood at the altar. he dared not look at the lady. The responsibility he was taking upon himself frightened him. But some make a light matter of it &c. Mrs. S toasted the Col. to the effect "that he might soon wear not only one star but two stars upon his shoulder. Col. K. talked of his wife & Geo. Washington, his little son. Then a toast was drunk to little Geo W. A Mass^{tts}. man made a touching speech to Gen. S,. Thanking him for the permission to visit his home to see his wife once more before she died. He spoke of his family at home, but still was glad that the Gen. cd. have his wife & boys with him —After lunch Gen. S. & wife left, & then seated in his tent the Col. became very loquacious & communicative, now & then interrupted by a bearer with dispatches, wh. wd. be examined & then the talk wd. flow on. But he told them this morning he sh. sign no discharges to day.

His voice is musical, his accent foreign & broken, but so jovial & genial. He was quite as sparkling as the champagne of wh. he had drunk so freely. Here is a bit of his history. He is an artist. "With these feet of mine I have earned in this country \$100,000. I have no superior as an artist." And then it turned out that Miss K. had attended his dancing school in St. Louis 10 years ago.—Then he told her how much she was like his Sister Mary, & that he thought it was her when she got out of the ambulance. —Then a long talk about his Sister Mary who loves him very much, & who writes him such beautiful letters, more

like a lover's letters than a sister's. His dear sister Mary is an artist. She is a star. She is expected in W. next wk.—She was a dear sister & a beautiful girl, but one morning it was found that this blooming, lovely girl had gone off with a loafer not a gentleman. His wife is strictly religious & will have nothing to do with his sister now & does not wish him to see her, & his sons are like the mother, but his daughter Gabrielle is like him, & she stole away with him in the night to see his sister Mary.—He gave us to understand that his wife's people & others in Phil^a. would think themselves disgraced if they had anything to do with Mary, & they would in

jure him & bring disgrace upon his name & the cause of the Country, &c. He says there is no better actress than she, & no better artist than himself. He says he is as much Com. in Chief as Gen Halleck, for he commands all paroled prisoners. He talked so much & so fast! At Lunch I was seated by a [*Transcriber's note: blank space is left for rank or name*] Dewhurst a relative of the Duke of Wellington. He is now from Phil^a. & visiting Col. K. who is a friend of his. I heard this gentleman say that Col. K. has been in this Country 24 yrs. but he went back when Kossuth was fighting there, & was in the 3^d. Legion of Yagans at Camp Aldershot near London & they were held as a reserve in the Crimean War. He has seen service in Mexico, & is a Cav. officer. Has lived in Phil^a. & has been interpreter to the Courts. He speaks eleven languages —Mr. W. Mrs. W. & myself went & distributed some reading in the sick tents. In the meantime other guests had arrived, Mrs. Leach, Mrs. Thomason & Mrs. Jones. Col. K. wd. be out a while & then he wd. come

& apologize for their being so long getting dinner ready.—At length he entered & introduced Mrs. & Miss Forrest & a gentleman—quite distinguished looking persons. Officers were out & in the tent & they were very affable & sociable.—At length dinner was announced & we went to the mess room. Three tables were set. Col. K. presided at one, the Pres. of the Mess at another & at the 3rd [transcriber's note: space was left for a name.] Grace was said by Mr. W.—And this was an officers Thanksgiving dinner in Camp! I must say I've eaten better dinners. The Turkey was not cooked, & few people like raw turkey. Some things were well enough—justice was done to the wine by officers & guests, & if Col. K's tongue did not move the faster for it then I'm no judge.—Ever so many toasts were drank & a few speeches made. Capt. Chamberlin of Mass. made the longest one, called this a contest between civilization & barbarism & hoped we should yet see a school house on every hill in Va. I think he wanted to say the word slavery, but had not the courage to do it.—Among these officers but little allusion was made to the object of the war, & no opinions were given. Their camp life was about all that seemed to interest them—& all they seemed to know. There were no news discussed, no one

could tell any news, or seemed to care for any. Col. K. invited Mrs. & Miss Forrest, who board at the Marshall House with him to dine with him. They were distinguished looking persons, richly dressed. Col K. called on Miss F. for a song, & after some hesitation she sang & very beautifully too. Then she was toasted & cheered with 3 hips. She is a public singer & furthermore I know not.—The dinner progressed slowly, we got as far as the pies; the cakes & fruits were ordered, but Col. K. said we sh. have to skedaddle pretty soon or be left in the dark. there was no way of lighting the room. Then our immediate party skedaddled forthwith. The Col's tent was all this while guarded by a Rochester soldier with whom I had some conversation. Found an Liv. Co. man, & one Kentuckian. he said he was the only one there, & I had some pleasant talk with him. He eagerly received the tracts I gave him & said he had saved some to take home with him. The camp is laid out very nice & evergreens planted throughout the streets. There is Slough Av. & Hooker Av. & Miss Kate Chase Av. & Mrs.

Bell Slough Av wh. was christened today. services were held in Lincoln square.—Mr. Warwick seems to be very much liked then & the Col. proposes him for Chaplain. The sick had Oysters & Pies to day, but I think the rest of the soldiers had nothing extra. Poor fellows. If what was spent for the wine that these officers drank had been laid out in something for all the soldiers to remind them of their homes! Oh! I do pity them, & felt that it was hardly right for me to enjoy myself all day when there is so much suffering around me.—Col. K. rode to city with us, & he called at Mr. Kimball's.—He invited us to come again & his ambulance wd. be at our disposal anytime.—
I little thought one year ago at my quiet home in W. N.Y. that I sh. spend the next Thanksgiving under Va. skies, at the seat of war, & take my dinner in a camp with officers of high rank wearing Eagles & stars & bayonets guarding us the while.

Friday 28th.

Letters from Frances & S. A. Ferris. Mary is not well yet.—Got ever so many papers. Been out several times. Called at Prince St. Hospital to get vaccinated but Dr. Bigelow had no virus to day. Do not feel well. Water is so bad I cannot drink it.—

Saturday Nov. 29th

Did not feel well this morning & have not been out to day, rested & written some. Drank a cup of tea for the first time in my life 20 yrs. perhaps. I cannot drink the water; 1500 Cav. left here yesterday. A spy was brought in here to day by 25 cavalry. I hardly hear a person speak respectfully of the Government, & nobody shows any enthusiasm for the Union. The Northerners that are here have come to make money out of the war, & I believe that is all they care for it.—If the President does not come up to the mark in his Message to Congress next Monday, I shall be discouraged.

Sunday Nov. 30.

Fine, mild. Went with Mr. Warwick & Mrs. K. & daughters to Paroled C. to attend worship. Col. DeK. said "he expected a good deal of guests," but only 4 or 5 besides us

were present. The services were interesting. The men did not all come at first, and the Col. was vexed. After

service he scolded them & then asked their pardon, and they cheered him. Bible expounded from an ammunition chest! We visited Commissary's Dept.—"Sister Mary" was there, looks some like Miss K., not a striking likeness.—
While sitting in the Col's tent, I hear & see a good deal behind the scenes. Hear letters read & dispatches dictated, & various other things said & see them done.—
Col. DeK. wishes he was a Cromwell. He wants to be in the field. He wants to fight the rebels, & subdue them with fire & sword. He thinks them very bad.—Don't like the tenderness with wh. they are treated.—But he thinks our Country will be divided, & we shall be ruled by an Emperor in 2 or 3 years.—He is very interesting in conversation. One poor fellow was dying. Mr. W. & the Col. visited him several times. Col. is very kind. The camp is kept clean.—We then went to Convalescent C. but did not stay long. Ever so many new men on their way there, a forlorn looking place, & a dirty place too. They must be neglected sadly.

7000 prisoners are expected at the paroled camp soon. But Col. De. K. says he has clothing & rations for them. The Col. don't stay out there nights. He stops at the Marshall House Alex. —Says his throat is bad &c. Officers don't like hard fare I find.— And this has used up the day. I was intending to go to Col^d. church. But I thought a chance to go out there wd. not happen every Sunday. I wd. like to have come back as soon as service was over but we were expected to stay to dinner & the Col. wd. not excuse us. A soldiers dinner, but it suited me better than the Thanksgiving dinner. —Just as much stir that way to day as on a weekday.—Oh! What a place this is. —Just after we returned a soldier's funeral passed with its solemn music.

I wonder how they are at home. I wd. like to see them a little while. It was 152 wks. yesterday since my darling Freda was taken from me. If I cd. hear directly from her that she is well & happy!

Alex. Wednesday Dec. 3^d.

Weather very mild & pleasant, yards green yet & chrysanthemums & roses in blossom. For 3 days past have not visited much. Small pox nearly every where. Poor creatures! White folks will hate them worse than ever. Yesterday Mr. Van Santvord & Mr. Chester from W. called. I called on Mrs. May. Joe can't get pass to come here. Today Miss May called, have sent some things to Joe. Wonder if he will get them this time? He is well. Prospect is they will go into winter quarters down there. Letters from Sarah Jane & Cousin Kate & Miss Howland. Glad to hear from all these. I wish I had time to write more letters.

Sunday Nov. Dec. 7th. 1862

Wintry weather. Ground white with snow. My room is not comfortable today. On Thursday had a kind letter from Anna B. Read part of President's Message, & felt so discouraged. Proposes Emancipation in the year 1900. The poor man. I am sorry for him. The hopes of millions depend on his Message to Congress now. Oh, dear.

I think his Proclamation for the 1st. of Jan. next will be made if no effort before that time comes. The rebels will be represented in Congress, & then of course they will have it their own way. The Pro. Slavery Democrats have been so encouraged by the late Elections, that they are about ready to defy the government.

Friday was rainy & snowy. Went to W. with Mr. G in an ambulance. Pleasant ride to W. only on Long Bridge met the largest drive of cattle I ever saw. It was a dangerous meeting too. In the pushing & crowding our horses were in danger of being hooked, & there was no way for us to escape. Went to Columbian Coll. 2 mi. out on 14th St. to find Arthur Arthur Ayer, but did not succeed. Went to Carver Hos. & to Stone Hos. but could not find his name on any of these registers. Here are acres & acres of Hospitals. Col. Coll. is 4 or 5 stories. Shrine[?] Hos. is a large building. Carver Hos. is barracks, a great many in number, and there are a great many tents besides. What a sight it is!

Called at pro slavery Dr. Samson's. He is a friend of Mr. G's. Went to Mr. Lake's to spend the night. It stormed so we concluded not to go home, but sent the ambulance back.—

Yesterday morning with Mr. G. & Mrs. Klock I went to the Capitol. Congress was not in session but I went around, saw the President's room & went on to the floor of the Sen. Chamber, & observed it particularly. Saw an elegant painting, "Westward the Course of Empire takes its way." How elegant everything is.—

The Dome & statue by rigid economy (?) [Transciber's Note: ? in original] will cost only \$900,000. The statue costs \$25000, & is by Crawford.—The marble for the enlargement costs \$1,000,000.

I saw a new regiment but cd. not learn where they were from. A fine looking one. Made various calls & waited in the cold &c. Saw an artillery train going towards the river. There is great stir in W. It <u>must</u> mean that the army is going forward. Came back on boat, just escaped being left. The little black mules went on the River jump. How such driving must use up horses, & mules. What skeletons of horses & mules we do see before the army wagons.

Saw Capt. Wyman on the boat. Said he "Miss Wilbur, I received your letter." I tried to think what he meant, for I cd. not recollect writing to him. "Your letter to the President reached me." Then I was frightened & said "I hoped it did not offend?" "Oh, no" said he, "& the requisition for barracks has been granted." Was I not glad & encouraged? My letter was intended only for father Abraham, but he laid it before Sec. of War, & he sent

it to Gen. Slough, & Gen S. sent it to Capt. W. who looked pleased when he told me of it.—

Called at P.O. & saw Stannard & Palmer, two Mich. men from Con. Camp. They want to get away from there so much, been there 2 months. I told them I wd. help them if I cd. So I went to Mrs. May's & found out when the Dr. of that camp cd. be found. So I went to Cameron St. but he had not come from Camp yet. Waited till 5 P.M. & went again & have been agreeably disappointed. Dr. Jacobs is a com-at-ible person, very kind & friendly & conversed freely about himself & things at the camp. He thinks our soldiers are treated with neglect & injustice

& said he stays here because he can do them good. He is about to leave on account of ill health. He gave me to understand that he wd. attend to the cases of these 2 men, & I cried for joy. I feel so well paid for my efforts. Don't mind the 2 long cold walks at all. Letters from Mother & Mary Julia. All well. C. was to leave for W. Friday morning, & should have been in W. yesterday, & wd. see me to day. but the weather has been so cold & blustering that I think it has hindered her coming. It will be too bad if I can't see her if she comes to Washington.—

Mr. G. has been here & says those poor creatures at the pest house have no wood, but I gave him no money. I don't wish Government to think that we are going to furnish them with wood, although we shall have to do it in some cases.

Bronze door for E. front of Cap. is designed by Rogers, ornaments emblematic of Conquest & Navigation, Columbus &c. weighs 20,000 lbs. Is now at Munich.

Tuesday Dec. 9th. '62

Very cold yesterday & today. The boat was frozen up yesterday & did not run. Night before last it is said 6 men were frozen to death at the Convalescent Camp. Had letters yesterday from Mary J. & Joe. C did not start on Friday.

Joe is near Fredericksburg, at one end of a bridge guarding a battery, & the rebels only 500 feet from them at the other end. He is disappointed in not getting a pass to come to Alex.—Got the room at 63 St. Asaph St. all ready to put goods in. Today no mail has come north of Baltimore. Took a walk with Mrs. W, Miss Hall.—Called on J. F. Barkley, Union man from N.Y.—

Friend Randolph from Phil^a called & left \$1 with me for the Contraband cause. Wednesday Dec. 10th.

Bright, mild. Letter from J. & Ella. She is quite ill.—Mr. Needham called with goods from Washington. Letter from Mrs. Channing.

Invitation from Col. De K. to go to Mount Vernon. Went on Gov^t. Tug Clyde, a very nice little Steam boat. A half doz. ladies & 2 gentlemen made the party. Landed a German

lady at Fort Washington. Her husband commands the Fort, wh. mounts 107 guns some en barbette & some casemates. It is in a commanding position at a bend in the river, wh. is very broad all the way from Washington. Not a ripple on the river. Saw 3 boats with soldiers. One had a regiment on board, going to Aquia Creek. Mt. Vernon is a mile or 2 from Ft. W. wh. is 8 mi. from Alex.— We stopped a while but could not land. We all supposed we were going to the house. We were within half a mile I think & had a glass to look through & this had to suffice this time, but I mean to go there yet. The trip has been delightful. The day so fine, the broad, beautiful river, & the scenery all new. I enjoyed it exceedingly.—Col. De K. is very kind. This evening he is in the parlor

below, insists that he has seen me in Rochester & at Niagara Falls.— Col. [Transcriber's note: space left here for name] is with him. But I have no patience with sensible men who will spend hours at a time playing cards. I did not tarry long below, for I enjoy my own room best.—After I came back from Mt. V. I called at Mr. S's & went for my rations &c.

Been reading that the enlargement of Capitol required 19,403,799 bricks & of cement 46,941 lbs. Whole quantity of marble has cost \$1,014,000. 60 monolithic shafts for E portico & corridors, N.S. & W. porticos will require 40 more shafts. What a vast expense! The work has not been stopped at all; the Contractors have gone on at their own risk.—

Thursday Dec. 11th, Alex.

Fine weather. This A.M. unpacked & distributed goods at No. 53 St. Asaph st. Boxes filled with excellent clothing for men, women & children, from Friends of Philadelphia.

Letter from Mrs. Green of Homer, who has 2 boxes ready to send us.— Mrs. Winsor vaccinated me to day. Small pox is spreading among whites as well as colored

Three citizens funerals passed here this P.M. & there have been 3 soldiers' funerals from Wolfe St. Hos.— Fighting at Fredericksburg; shelling the town.—

Friday Dec. 12th. 1862

Delightful weather. I am glad for the poor soldiers. Letter from Frances. She is full of trouble. Mary & Minnie well & baby almost well. —4 Contrabands dead to day. Mr. G. attended their funerals. I am afraid to go among them much at present. I am troubled. I cannot fix my mind on anything. Called on Mrs. May, who is as anxious as I am. Mr. W vaccinated me again. Tried to sew but I cd. not do much. After dinner, I saw 14 omnibuses & 17 ambulances pass. They were empty. I thought

they might be taking soldiers from hospitals to the Con. Camp, wh. wd. be in my opinion a very wicked thing. I started out & found they were taking them from the Hospitals to the Depot, to be sent to Philadelphia, & to make room here for the wounded they expect

from Fredericksburg. This seems like war in reality. We suppose they are fighting there now. Mr. G. had ambulance ready & Mrs. W, Mr. K. & Nettie & I went with him to Con. Camp. Stopped at Slave Pen by the way. Went into the prison. Oh! what a wretched sight. The hardest looking men that I ever saw among them. A damp, filthy place. They were sitting & lying around. One was in a cell for murder, & 2 for robbing the mail at the Con. Camp. The last insisted that they were innocent. The murderer said he did not mean to kill the man. it was done in self defense & unintentionally. Then the filthy Camp! it is awful to have to stay there. Saw Stannard & Palmer. they have had no Examination yet. I am disappointed.

From the brow of that hill there is the finest prospect I ever laid my eyes on. The river was whitened with sails. They gleamed beautifully in the setting sun. The Capitol, the cities[?], the encampments, the forts, the river & Hunting Creek, the hills! but to enjoy it one must not think of the misery around us. I have seen more misery to day than I wd. like to see in a lifetime. On our return we saw the soldiers just leaving on the cars. I am so glad for them. This A.M. 3 regiments passed through here from W. with music. There is a great stir.

Sat. 13th.

Warm. Letter from Joe. he has been promoted to a Lieutenancy. Been to see Capt. Wyman. says there shall be in the barracks cupboards, tables & benches. Small pox increasing. Fighting at Fredericksburg. town shelled & partly burned. Many of our poor fellows killed.

What anxious hearts there are all over the country. Wish I cd. hear from Joe. Col. Tate & Col. De Korponay here this evening. Mr. Warwick & Mr. Van Dusen also.

Alex. Sunday Dec. 14th

Quite warm, hazy.—Went with Mr. Warwick & Mrs. Winsor in ambulance to Paroled Camp. Col. De K absent. —Attended Service on Lincoln Square. Did not stay to dinner.

Mr. Sumner & Mr. Wilson visited these camps yesterday—We went to Convalescent Camp. Saw Col. Belknap & Gen. Slough, got tickets for Serg^t. H. Stannard & John A. Palmer to be examined on Tuesday. They hope to get discharged. I shall be so thankful if they can get away soon. But the other poor fellows that I cd. do nothing for. Oh! dear. They feel so bad.—Col. B. & Gen. S. both agree with me that it is too bad to keep men in such a place, & in such a way. Col. B. said they will discharge after this 60 a day. But the worst cases must be attended to first. No wonder these men are

sick with hope deferred. I learned considerable today about the way things are done here, and I am more disgusted than ever. These men are treated with no more consideration than dogs or horses.

I am sicker than ever of war

Service in Dr. Smith's tent, full of hard looking men, but I think they were nearly all religious. Most all of them sung. They held prayer meeting this evening. When this was over in the tent, a funeral was just leaving, & Dr. S. was going to the grave with them & wished Mr. Warwick to go. So our ambulance formed a part of the escort to the grave. The drum made solemn music. The man's name was Burrows of the 14th N.Y.—Dr. S. conducted the services. The "Shining Shore" was sung. Mr. W. prayed. It was an impressive scene. Three volleys were fired over the grave, by 8 men. & the soldiers turned away from the 18 open graves which are ready for their occupants. How many have been filled to day I know not.

They are on the 7th row of about 100 each. Many a poor fellow will sleep here & his friends not know where he is buried. All the while this was going on, hundreds of men were standing on the brow of the hill at the Con. Camp, & looking at the proceedings. It is quite a distance off but in plain sight. Quite a no. of them who are well enough to walk went to the grave.—Two ladies rode away from cemetery with us, one the Matron of the Lyceum Hospital, the other a Mass. lady.

At the depot saw cars filled with soldiers going north, to hospitals probably.— What a day this has been. How much misery I have seen since 9 this A.M. And all the while have reason to think a battle is in progress at Fredericksburg. We hear that many have already been killed. Oh! dear, how many anxious hearts there are to day all over the Country. And where is Mary's husband? Oh! how she feels now, for she knows as much probably as I do here.

cold. Tuesday. Dec. 16th.

Yesterday it was like summer. Last night it rained, and now it is quite cold. I called on Mrs. May, who is very anxious.

This A.M. took another look for my scissors. I don't like to have things stolen from me. I don't like to keep things under lock & key. but I am obliged to do it. This P.M. a woman came to me to have a girl removed who has small pox. Went to find Mr. [?] & W. Saw Mr. Burge. Mr. Pierce has small pox, but he has good care. Have been to the barracks. There is no plan nor calculation about them. I am disappointed & confounded, & astonished that nobody has seen to it. Went to Capt Wyman, who says he will go with me tomorrow & things shall be arranged differently. If I had known before they begun them, I cd. have had them much better. What a place this is to do any thing. I supposed Mr. G. knew about it.

Coming from there I saw an ambulance containing 3 coffins driven towards the cemetery. Contrabands I suppose. Then a soldier's funeral; & while at the barracks, there was another soldier's funeral, & afterwards I saw a citizen's funeral. The overseer at the

barracks said he had seen 12 & 14 pass them in a day, & this wd. not include what passes on Duke St. I think there are funerals here from morning till night.

Last night 500 sick from Sigel's corps passed through here on their way north.

To night report says Burnside has recrossed the Rappahannock. How discouraging! & here the rebel sympathizers enjoy it. Our loss has been great. 10,000, it is said.—

Wednesday 17th.

Terrible accounts come in from Fredericksburg. Men here this morning directly from there

Letters from Aunt Mary, Ruth Ann, Sarah Jane & B. Latham.— Have been to Dr. Holmes embalming rooms.

Saw two bodies that have been embalmed 10 days. Soldiers in their coarse uniforms & in the government coffins. Price for embalming is \$30. To enclose a body in box lined with zinc \$18. I think it best to be prepared for any emergency.

Made several calls. Miss May called. No particular news for us.—

Thursday 18th.

Cold, clear. This A.M. went with Capt. W. the Pro. Mar. to Quartermaster's & made some new arrangements about the barracks. Called at various places & went to barracks. Went to Lyceum Hospital. Mrs. Winsor gone with Mrs. Donovan to the battlefield. I think of going with Mr. G. tomorrow.

C. Kimball has just returned from Falmouth. He saw some of the fighting. 1500 of the wounded have come to Washington.

Report that M^cClellan has superseded Burnside.—Rumors of all kinds. Oh! what a state of things, where will it end?

Alex. Va. Friday. Dec. 19th. 1862.

Cloudy, cool. This morning went around to the room, & started to come home thinking I sh. get back without seeing a funeral or any other sad sight, but on looking down Duke St. I saw ever so many soldiers coming. I soon found that these were the slightly wounded coming from the landing, 2 boats having arrived, & these were going to hospitals.

Then I looked over to the Bap. Ch. Ambulances were standing there & they were carrying in the wounded. A corpse lay in the porch, right opposite the door, & 8 men have died in this hos. in 2 days. I saw a number of Ambulances unloaded. Then I went towards the Depot to see what was going on. Cars were piled full of soldiers & regiments were marching towards the cars, going South I suppose to take the place of those wounded who are now coming away from Falmouth. oh, dear! I went on to the Washington St. Hos. What numbers they were taking in here. The first man I spoke to had belonged

to the 2^d. Mich. Reg^t. & he told me that was not in the fight, but one man had been killed by accident.—Then I felt better. A nurse asked me to go into her ward. There were but 2 men in it & these men were nearly well. I was there an hour & saw the beds nearly all filled up. One with an arm off another with a leg off, one shattered with bullets & so on.
—All day long the ambulances have been busy bringing them to the hospitals. Between 3 & 4 this P.M. I went with Miss Hall to the Landing. Oh, such a sight. They were moving some of the worst cases & the men looked more dead than alive.

The ambulances were driven slowly, & the men were moved carefully, & laid tenderly on those clean beds. One man said he had not been in a house since last spring. These poor fellows will be glad to night I am sure, to have such comfortable places to lie in. They all say they have been well cared for, they have plenty of blankets & were in houses or tents. Some were removed from F. Saturday night & others Monday morning.—But during all this day I have not heard a groan or a complaint. But I have seen faces distorted with pain. Some of these men were very dirty, but now I suppose they are

all washed & have clean clothes, & lie on clean beds. I little thought once that I sh. ever witness such sights as these.—

Saturday Dec. 20th. '62

Very cold. This A.M. called on Dr. Spencer & Col. Tate & Capt. Wyman &c, &c, I do not like to make such calls when officers are busy. But Dr. Ripley does not attend to these poor people, & he must be removed. 6 died at pest house yesterday & 7 day before. —With Mrs. Hall went to Grace Ch. Hospital. Found Jas. Mears of Rochester. A No. 12 scholar, was wounded with a shell on his head & his right arm is paralyzed. I must go & see him again. One rebel soldier there.

This P.M. wrote to sis & sewed a little. Three soldiers funerals have passed here, & another with a Co. of men & music passed in sight of here. An officer, I suppose.—This eve^{ng}. talked with Mr. K. on the "nigger" question & politics. He is every inch a democrat. There is a great commotion in the country. Seward & Son have sent in their resignations. There are

fifty rumors afloat about the Cabinet & the army. People are very much moved. Sunday Dec. 21st.

Cold. This A.M. went to colored Bap. Ch. Heard Mr. Warwick preach. I am disappointed, for neither Mr. W. nor those who prayed remembered the slave nor the freedman. Called at Grace Ch. Hos.—Saw J. Mears & wrote a letter for him to his sister.

Col. De. K. & Col. Tate here to dinner.

About 3 P.M. went out & saw in a moment that 53 St. Asaph's was on Fire. It took fire on the roof, & ought to have been put out in a few minutes, but this is a slow place. The water was frozen. The hose was rotten; the things were all taken out a guard was placed over our things & I think none of them lost. It is a double house & half of it was occupied

by virulent secesh. The Union folks were quite willing to see this burn and the secesh having a spite against our half of the building, it stood a poor chance. The result is

the building is ruined, & it is not likely it will be repaired. Col. T. & Col De K. were on their way from here. Col. T. had to leave & gave the command of things to Col. De. K. who had occasion to send about 20 men to the slave pen.—There was a great crowd in attendance. So I have seen Alex. in a new aspect. Seen it at a time when there was a mingling of secesh & Union. Well it was subdued after awhile. We got a room to put our things in for the night; & what next, remains to be seen.—It is very unfortunate for us for we had got 3 rooms cleaned and ready for use.—

Monday Dec. 22^d. 1862

What a hard day's work I have had. First, went with Jennie K. to office of Pro. Mar. Gen. Col. T. says if he can find rooms we shall have them. Have been to the barracks & find a bad state of things there, obtained a guard for the place. Been to Mr. Doherty & told him what we want about the barracks. They speak me fair, but

it may not amount to much. Too much else going on to attend to the wants of contrabands. Mr. G. is getting discouraged, his appointment as Super^{nt} dont come yet.—Things don't look very promising now for us.

Tuesday Dec. 23^d.

Warm. This morning Miss Maggie Hall of Elwood, N.J. & her friends left Alex. Mr. G. has gone north too. Mrs. Winsor does not come back yet. I miss her very much. Mr. Warwick was waylaid Sunday eve^{ng} by some ruffians & beaten badly; since our revserses at Fred^{bg} the secesh have been elated and feel bolder than ever.—Capt. W. called this A.M. He gives us the use of the brick house on W. St. Small pox there now. I have run to day till I am very tired. Been to the barracks. I think they will not make them as we propose.

Mr. May has come home. Joe is well.

I get no letter nowadays.—Foolish enough to go to Circus this evening. Am vexed with myself for doing so. such nonsense.—

146 wks since I have seen my little darling, & when shall I see her again. I wonder if she ever thinks of <u>Aunty</u> now?

Dec. 24th. 1862.

Very mild. This morning went to Quartermaster's to see him about barracks. Mr. Clark listened to my enquiries & suggestions & then went to the barracks. I met him there & we talked over the plans I proposed. they are to make alterations, & will follow my suggestions. Went to brick house. Woman with small pox was taken away last night. Saw

2 women on the other side of street. Mr. W. said one of them was broken out with small pox & wanted a place to go to. He told her to run & catch up with the Ambulance that was going to the pest house. I told her to go into a house near there where there was a boy having it & so near 53 St. Asaph St. that at the fire hundreds of people must have been exposed. Mr. B. says a case was sent here from the Maryland side of the river a few nights ago & he found him sitting on the steps of the store in the morning. This evening helped trim 2 Christmas trees for Col. De K who is to present them to Gen. Slough's children.

The petted favorites of fortune! how well they are looked after. We have just received 2 bbls. of Ind. meal & a bbl. of potatoes from N.Y. & these we are to distribute among the Contrabands for Christmas. There is so much small pox I cannot go among them. Have an invitation to dine at Paroled Camp tomorrow.

Alexandria Va. Christmas 1862.

Dense fog this A.M. but it cleared away mostly in the P.M. Very mild. Firing guns & crackers, as if it were the Fourth of July. Went round to see Mr. W. says 2 small poxes in S. House must be sent off, & ever so many drunk.—

Post Office closed, & not many people work today. The Hospitals are trimmed with evergreens, & the ladies mean that the soldiers shall have a good time.—At 11 A.M. went with Mr. K's family & others to Paroled Camp to partake of a Christmas dinner with Col. De. K. & the officers of the mess, & it was a very good dinner. Turkey cooked well & all nice. Choice wines, champagne, toasts, & speeches were abundant, & all went off very

pleasantly. Col. Tait, the Pro. Mar. Gen. was present. Mrs. Hall, a German Capt. & wife & child, &c. &c.—Then a social chat for an hr. or so. When they adjourned again to the Mess Room for playing games, wines, cakes & bonbons were provided, & all seemed to enjoy it very much. But I understand no games. It was nearly sundown when we left & I have had quite a pleasant day, considering—There are fireworks this eve^{ng}. & it seems like a regular Fourth of July. A great many drunk, soldiers & others, & I presume the Slave Pen is full tonight.—Southerners make a great deal of Christmas. They, negroes & all, think it the greatest day in the year. Col. De. K. boards at the Marshall House, & this morning he missed all his wardrobe that he was not wearing, & a field glass wh. cost \$125.—This is a great place!—Mr. K. has lived here since last spring & he says he has not been down town in the evening more than 4 times since he has lived here. He does

not consider it safe to go out in the evening. The streets are not lighted & it is a fit place for deeds of darkness.

Letter from Frances yesterday, all well, Mary going home last Friday.—

How I wd. like to see them all & my little darling too.—This evening Mr. Warwick, Mr. Whipple & Dr. Warner called. There are ever so many boxes for us at the Express office.—

Sunday Dec. 28th. 1862.

Very fine & warm. Went to Washington Church; dull, dry services. Col. De. K. & Col White dined here. Mr. Needham from W. called.—Have fixed up some things for Joe, to send by Mr. May.—

Friday Mrs. Winsor returned from Falmouth. She has had an interesting experience. Had our room cleaned & whitewashed ready to move our things in. Letter from Joe. Several boxes have come for contrabands yesterday. Called at Chap. May's, Pro. Marshal's &c. Mrs. K. went with me to barracks. Letters from S. A. Ferris & Miss Howland, & Angelina.

Alex. Va. Monday Dec. 29th. 1862.

Delightful weather. Slept as soundly last night as if the rebs were not making a dash upon our lines. Commissary stores were removed to boats & pushed out into the river, & the cattle were started for the Long Bridge. A party of Stewart's Cavalry upon Fairfax scared the city here. They took possession of Burke's Station & seized the telegraph at 4 P.M. & read our despatches. One was that we had a large force here & also at Fairfax & this frightened them off —There was skirmishing yesterday at or near Centerville. This was a bold move and we are never prepared for them.—Letters from Mary Julia & Mrs. Barnes & Mr. Green.—C. intends to come to W. next Saturday. Called at Mr. May's & at Pro. Marshal's, &c. Worked at rooms nearly all day. Two boxes have come.

Tuesday Dec 30th.

Spent large share of day in distributing clothing. Called at various places & walked a great deal. So tired.

147 wks. since I have seen my little darling. Oh! That I cd. know how she is & whether she is happy & if she thinks of Aunty.

Wednesday Dec. 31st. 1862 Alexandria Va.

Cloudy, cool. Went to the barracks, two buildings nearly done, & they are going forward to my mind. Went to Grace Ch. Hos. to see Jas. Mears & take a letter to him from his sister. He is better. Went to our room & gave out clothing. Hear that 150 col^d. men that were out chopping for Gov^t. have been captured by rebels. Things are very unsettled between here & Centerville, but we can't get any reliable accounts. I try to apologize for this state of things, but it is hard work to do so. It provokes me to see these pro slavery Democrats evidently pleased with our reverses. I think there are some in this house who sympathize quite as much with the rebels as they do with the North. They make the worst of every thing, & put in circulation reports calculated to discourage

our people. My soul is vexed every day. We seem to have made no progress in the War for a year past, & it is very discouraging. Friends of the Government are very anxious but I think it will come out right at last. The wicked will not always triumph.

New Years Eve. Oh! That 1863 might prove a year of Jubilee to this oppressed race. There are many anxious, hopeful hearts tonight among these people & among their friends. But will to-morrow bring liberty to the slaves in the rebellious states? I fear that in some way they will be cheated out of it. I am not sure that the 'contrabands' here are safe. Capt. Wyman says there are no slaves here.—I am afraid there will be disturbances to night & tomorrow. There is a rowdy spirit here that will do almost anything, & some of the colored people keep watch night, & I fear they will be disturbed. Capt. W. says he will have an extra force on duty. But some of the soldiers act very meanly towards

the colored people. The poor creatures! They are beset on every hand—Col. De Korponay boards here now; he is quite ill. He has always been accustomed to watch the old Year out, & pray the New Year in. A Hungarian custom. One year ago I was at my lonely home, & kept the day sacred to the memory of my precious Freda B. —I wd. like to be there now & see Father & Mary & Minnie & Stewart

Three years ago today, my darling little one, the motherless child, was taken from these arms, from her happy home at Grandpa's, all unconscious that she was not to return to 'Aunty'. I have suffered an age of misery since. But time & distance has blunted the edge of my grief, & the active, busy life I am leading now does not allow me to think much of the past. It may be for the best, for there is a great work to do here, & I wish to devote all my energies to it. I feel that I am working for an entire

race & for all time to come, for to improve them here is to do them good everywhere. What & where shall I be when another year comes round! Years are so full of events at the present that I hardly dare think of the future.